The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli

Hayat Salam-Liebich





The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture
at Harvard University and the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

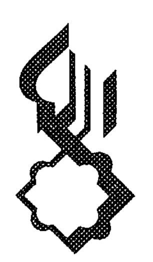
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To

E.D., S.K., O.G., A.L. and A.S. who have in turn introduced me to the field of Islamic art, guided my decisions, inspired my studies, encouraged my work and given me unfailing support at all times.

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PREFACE

The city of Tripoli as it stands today on the northern coast of Lebanon is essentially a Mamluk creation. It consists of two distinct parts, the small harbor, or *minah,* and the city proper, or *madinah,* separated by orchards planted where the ancient and medieval Tripoli once stood (fig. 1). The madinah was built inland at the foot of Mount Peregrinus (today's Abū Samrā) along both banks of the Qadisha River, known locally as Abū ʿAlī.

Of this Mamluk city some thirty monuments remain. They display a wide range of both secular and religious buildings and provide a fairly good idea of what the city must have been like when the Mamluks built it in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although the Mamluks both constructed and repaired numerous buildings in already existing Muslim cities like Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem, only in Tripoli did they create a city entirely their own. Tripoli therefore provides a coherent corpus of Mamluk architecture, for a sufficient number of monuments are still standing to show when, how, in what style, and often by whom a structure was built. The buildings include the whole range of religious, civil, and military architecture, but this study is restricted to the extant examples of the first two — the mosques and madrasahs, hammams, and khans. The Citadel and the defense towers on the shore remain outside its scope.

The city has been the subject of several fairly recent studies by the Arab historians Salem (1967), al-Zayn (1969), and Tadmurī (1974), and the inscriptions on the monuments were earlier recorded, studied, and published by Sobernheim (1909). In 1953 the Unesco Foundation surveyed the monuments and prepared a plan for the city's redevelopment, with guidelines for the preservation of the old town. It was also this Unesco group that assigned the identifying numbers to the individual buildings that now appear on the entrances of the buildings themselves; they are in every case noted in the catalog entries in this volume under the heading *Location* at the top of each entry. The numbers have no bearing on the importance of the structure or on its relative chronology.

In spite of all these various surveys the buildings have never been thoroughly and systematically studied as works of architecture from an art historical point of view. It is my aim here to fill that gap by bringing together all that is known about each Mamluk building that still remains in Tripoli and relating its architectural and decorative elements to medieval monuments elsewhere. While both primary and secondary material dealing with the Muslim world in general and the Fertile

Crescent in particular have been used to set the historical background and the recent histories of Tripoli can provide valuable information about the various buildings, it is the monuments themselves that have served as the major source material for this study. In the absence of a contemporary Mamluk description of Tripoli of the kind provided by al-Maqrīzī for Cairo, Mujīr al-Dīn for Jerusalem, or Ibn al-Shiḥnah for Aleppo, the archaeological evidence becomes all the more important.

The plans and sections used for illustrations were executed under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities in Lebanon in the 1950s to a scale of 1:100. They are available for most buildings, but were not drawn systematically enough to cover all aspects of all monuments. The civil war in Lebanon has made access to Tripoli almost impossible since 1975, so missing drawings for buildings or parts of buildings not previously surveyed could not be supplied.

For Arabic transliterations I have followed the standard system used by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* except for *dh, k,* and *dj,* which have been replaced by *z, q,* and *j* respectively. Ta' marbūṭah is represented by *ah,* not *a.* All common and frequently used words and proper names have been Latinized.

This study is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation written for Harvard University in 1975. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Oleg Grabar, my adviser, for his inspiration and guidance, and Professor David G. Mitten for the enthusiasm which he showed for Mamluk Tripoli and his encouragement in urging me to publish the work.

Numerous individuals and institutions have been most helpful in my research. In Lebanon, I am especially indebted to Mr. Amine Bizri of the Department of Antiquities for giving me permission to use plans and elevations prepared under his supervision. At Oxford, I am most grateful to Dr. J.W. Allan of the Ashmolean Museum for use of the museum library and Creswell Photographic Archives. At Harvard, the staff of the Fine Arts Library have provided invaluable assistance at many stages, and I am happy to acknowledge my debt to them. In the final preparation of the manuscript, the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard have both sheltered me and allowed me to use their facilities. Mrs. Margaret Ševčenko of the Aga Khan Program alone knows how much this book owes to her many talents.

H.S.L.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
June 1980



CHAPTER ONE

The City in History

Tripoli was originally settled by the Phoenicians in the eighth century B.C., but it remained little more than a village until, in 358 B.C., the Phoenician Federation, an alliance of autonomous city-states, made the settlement its administrative center and seat of government. The three separate walled quarters that had been built to house settlers from the three major cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad then coalesced into one city. There the Phoenician Federation held its councils and met during times of crisis. The whole of Phoenicia was at the time a province of the Persian empire that had been founded by Cyrus in 550–530 B.C., and it lived fairly contentedly under Persian rule for almost two centuries, until in 351 a revolt against the Persians started in the Sidonian quarter of Tripoli and soon spread over the entire Lebanese coast. When Alexander the Great marched into Phoenicia after having defeated the Persians, he was acclaimed as a savior, and Tripoli became an active ship-building center for his armies.[1]

The three cities, *tri polis*,[2] that the Greeks took over are the source of the town's name: Ṭarābulus in Arabic — or more commonly Ṭarābulus al-Shām (Tripoli of Syria) to distinguish it from Ṭarābulus al-Gharb, or Tripoli of the West, in Libya[3] — Triple to the Crusaders, and Tripoli in the modern West. In the Hellenistic period, Phoenicia was first held by the Ptolemies of Egypt and later by the Seleucid kings of

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[1] Hassan Sarkis, "Histoire de Tripoli," *Les Cahiers de l'Oronte*, no. 10 (1971–72), pp 80–102; Philip Hitti, *Lebanon in History* (London, 1957), pp. 152–53; ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Salem, *Ṭarābلus al-Shām fi al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria, 1967), pp. 18–19; George Yannī, *Tārīkh Sūrriyya* (Beirut, 1881), p. 376; Dimitri Baramki, *Phoenicia and the Phoenicians* (Beirut, 1961), p. 84.

[2] Freyha argues that the original name of the city was Tūr Bīl ("mountain of the god Bīl" in Phoenician), an argument strengthened by the presence of a village near Tripoli that is called Turbul, but otherwise lacking documentation. He suggests that Tūr Bīl became Tripolis when the Greeks settled there and Hellenized the name, but it seems more likely that the Greek name was descriptive from its origins. See Anis Freyha, *Asmā' al-Mudun wa al-Qurā al-Lubnāniyyah* (Beirut, 1956), p 207.

[3] In medieval literature one also encounters the version "Aṭrāblus." According to Abū al-Fidā, the initial *A* was used for the Tripoli of the West, but not for the one in Syria (Abū al-Fidā, *Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān* [Geographie d'Aboulfeda], ed. M. Reinaud and M. Le B. MacGuckin de Slane [Paris, 1840], pp. 252–53) But Shahāb al-Dīn Yāqūt (*Al-Mushtarik wad ʿān wal muftariq saq ʿān*, ed. H.F. Wüstenfeld [Göttingen, 1846], p. 25) regarded it as a correct rendering for both and accused al-Mutanabbi of breaking a rule of versification in one of his lines by dropping the *A* Mutanabbi's verse goes: وقصرت كل مصر عن طرابلس

Antioch. Under the Seleucids practically all the Phoenician cities had become independent by the first century B.C and were permitted to mint their own coins. Tripoli gained this right in 112 B C., and several coins from that period remain (fig. 2). When Phoenicia with the rest of Syria became a Roman province in 64 B C., Tripoli, like Tyre and Sidon, was allowed considerable autonomy and governed a large territory. While it did not have the prestige that Beirut and Sidon enjoyed, its prosperity was sufficient to support the construction of some major buildings and numerous temples. Of the coins struck in Tripoli in Roman times many carry on their reverse the representation of a temple, such as the Temple of Zeus depicted in fig. 3. Moreover Tripoli must have been an important religious center, for some coins testify to the fact that it had a temple for the imperial cult, a privilege that no other Syrian city seemed to have shared.[4]

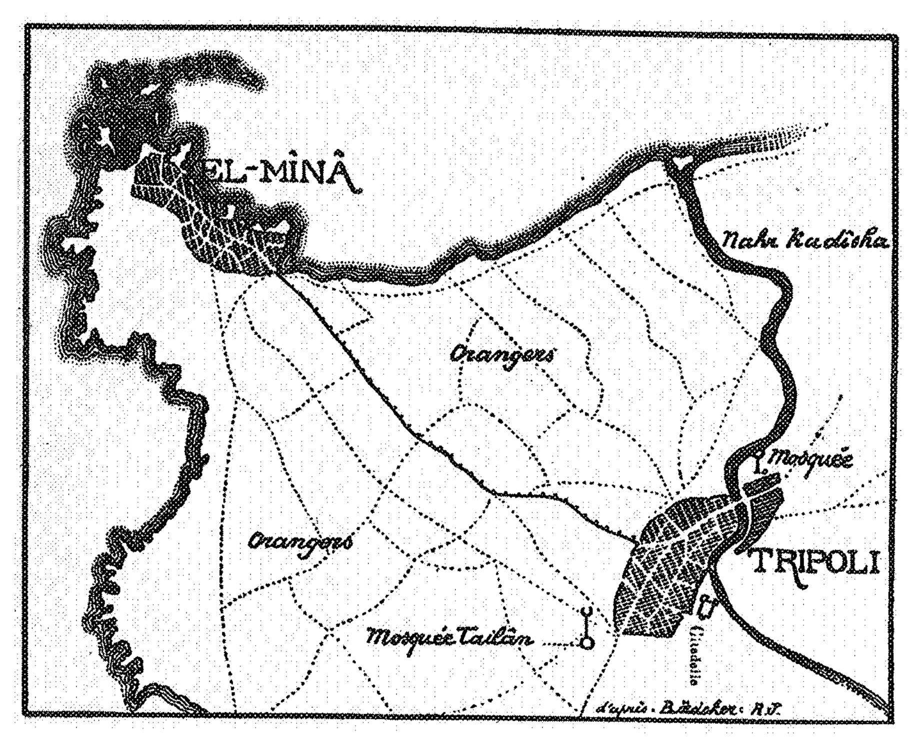


Figure 1 Plan of Tripoli.
After Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 185

[4] Baramki, *Phoenicia and the Phoenicians*, p 91; Sarkis, "Histoire de Tripoli," p. 95.

In A D 450 Tripoli was almost totally destroyed in an earthquake, but by the seventh century it was again strong enough to resist Arab conquest. When Muʿāwiyah (610-80), the first Umayyad caliph, became governor of Syria, writes Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhūrī in 869,

> [he] dispatched Sufyān ibn Mujīb to Tripoli [Aṭrāblus]. In 14 [A D 635] Sufyān built at some distance from Tripoli a fort known as Ḥiṣn Sufyān, and besieged the city from the land, cutting off all sources of supply from its inhabitants. When the siege was intensified and the local population could no longer hold out, the people of Tripoli gathered in one of the three forts of the city and wrote to the emperor of the Rums [the Byzantines] asking him to come to their rescue or to send them ships by which to escape. He sent them numerous ships, on which they fled at night ...when Sufyān came to the siege the following day, he found the city empty, entered it, and sent word to Muʿāwiyah about its conquest.[5]

To populate the deserted town, Muʿāwiyah is said to have sent a large community of Jews and a group of Persian settlers. In addition, says al-Balādhūrī, he would each year send a large number of soldiers with a governor. The soldiers would return to Damascus when the harbor was closed for the winter, leaving the governor in Tripoli with a small garrison. This was how Tripoli was governed until ʿAbd al-Malik (685-705), the fifth caliph, agreed to allow a Byzantine from Constantinople to settle in Tripoli (685). Two years later, when the troops had left Tripoli for the winter this Byzantine killed the governor and some soldiers, and seized control. Tripoli was lost to the Arabs until 705, when ʿAbd al-Malik captured him and had him crucified.[6]

The next Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd (705-15), rebuilt and refortified Tripoli, and it once again became a calm, stable, and prosperous city;[7] by Abbasid times both travelers and chroniclers testified to its beauty and wealth. Under the year A.H. 278 (891) the geographer Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Yaʿqūbī mentions its wonderful harbor, which could shelter a thousand ships,[8] and by the mid-tenth century the Persian geographer Iṣṭakhrī describes Tripoli as the harbor of Damascus and a town of great wealth, surrounded by such wonderfully fertile land that it supplied the town with bountiful crops as well as both palms and sugarcane, and where the people were neither as rough nor as frivolous as they were in Damascus. The fertility of the land and corresponding low cost of its produce were also remarked on by Ibn Ḥawqal, another

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[5] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. J J. de Goeje (1866; repr. Leiden, 1968), p. 127

[6] Ibid ; Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Yaʿqūbī, *Geography* (text in Arabic), ed A W T Joynboll (Leiden, 1861), p 114; al-Balādhūrī, *Futūh al-buldān*, p 127.

[7] Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, *Al-Bidāyah wal Nihāyah*, 14 vols (Cairo, n.d.), 13:313.

[8] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Geography*, p. 114.

traveler to the region; and in 985 al-Muqadassī found it a finer town than either Saida or Beirut.[9]

Until 973 Tripoli was governed by Abbasid Damascus, but when the Fatimids of Egypt took over Syria, Tripoli was made administratively independent.[10] In spite of the continuous threat of Byzantine attacks, the city seems to have continued to flourish under the Fatimids. In his diary, the Persian Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, who traveled through Syria and Palestine in 1047, recounts how the whole countryside

> is occupied by fields and gardens and trees where the sugarcane grows luxuriously, as likewise orange and citron trees, bananas and date palms... The town is so situated that it is protected on three sides by the sea and on the fourth by a wall with a ditch and an iron gate.... The city measures a thousand cubits to the side, its hostelries are four and five stories high, its private houses and bazaars are well built and so clean that one might take each to be a palace for its splendour Every kind of meat and fruit and eatable that I ever saw in all the land of Persia is to be had here, and a hundred degrees better in quality.... In the midst of the town is the great Friday Mosque, well kept and finely adorned and solidly constructed.[11]

He also records that the town had twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom the majority were Shiʿites, that it controlled many villages and lands, that it maintained the garrison of the sultan through the port charges paid by the many ships of the "Greeks" and the "Franks" and from Andalusia and the Maghrib that used its harbor, and that the sultan also had merchant ships of his own in Tripoli that carried cargo to Byzantium, Sicily, and the West. He finally notes that "there are in this place houses like ribats; only no one dwells therein on guard, and they call them mashhads.... There are no homes outside the city of Tripoli except two or three of these mashhads."[12]

Tripoli remained under Fatimid rule until the death of the governor Mukhtār al-Dawlah ibn Bazzāl in 1070; then the local qadi, Amīn al-Dawlah ibn ʿAmmār (r. 1070-72), a strong and capable man, took over the city and declared it independent and himself its ruler. The city remained independent of the caliphs of Egypt and continued to be ruled by the Banū ʿAmmār qadis for forty years. Under the rule of Amīn al-Dawlah it remained a rich and prosperous port, and a leading Shiʿite city. It was also an important intellectual center, attracting scholars from

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[9] Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims* (Beirut, 1965), p. 348; Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1873), p. 116

[10] Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Nord* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 25 [1909]), p. 39.

[11] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, trans. Guy Le Strange (London, 1893), pp 6–7.

[12] Ibid., p. 8.



Figure 2. Coin minted in Tripoli, second century B C
American University of Beirut, Museum of Archaeology

everywhere with its university (Dār al-ʿIlm), schools, and library, which was said to have boasted a hundred thousand volumes.[13] Under Amīn al-Dawlah, Tripoli reached the zenith of its intellectual life and its prosperity.[14] On his death, his two nephews quarreled over the succession until one of them, Jalāl al-Mulk, succeeded in banishing his brother and ruled for twenty-seven years (1072-99). He was followed in 1099 by Fakhr al-Mulk ibn ʿAmmār (r. 1099-1109), who withstood the attacks of the Crusaders until 1109, when they finally captured the city.

THE CRUSADERS

The first Crusade, called by Pope Urban II in 1095, seized Jerusalem in 1099 and made it the center of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Godfrey of Bouillon, its conqueror, made his brother Baldwin its king. The rest of the conquered territory was divided up as fiefs, with another Baldwin being given the county of Edessa; Raymond de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, the county of Tripoli; and Bohemond, a Sicilian Norman, the

[13] Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* p 39; s.v. "Banū ʿAmmār" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2d ed

[14] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusaders,* trans H A R Gibb (London, 1932), pp. 96–97.

principality of Antioch.[15] The city of Tripoli itself, however, still remained in Muslim hands. To maintain a secure foothold and to isolate the town more effectively, Raymond built a fort on a nearby hill, called Mons Peregrinus by the Crusaders; from his fort, later known as St. Gilles or Sanjil by the Arabs, he began his siege of the city in 1101. The siege lasted for nine years, and in the course of it the original encampment of St. Gilles gradually assumed the form of a built-up suburb.[16]

The first attack on Tripoli in 1101 was repulsed by the Muslim inhabitants with the assistance of troops from Homs; Raymond accepted tribute and moved to Tartus. A second attack in 1102 was also repulsed by Fakhr al-Mulk ibn ʿAmmār with the help of troops from Damascus. In 1104 Raymond convinced the commander of a Genoese fleet carrying merchants, soldiers, and pilgrims to Latakia to assist him in a blockade of Tripoli; in this way he could besiege it simultaneously from land and sea. The Banū ʿAmmār bravely resisted, however, forcing the fleet into retreat and briefly taking possession of the Crusader's fortress. Raymond renewed his attacks on Tripoli to force Ibn ʿAmmār to conclude a treaty and mounted an attack on the stronghold of Sanjil. He managed to set fire to it one night, but was himself mortally injured in the blaze and died of his burns a few days later (February 27, 1105).[17]

In his will Raymond designated his nephew William Jourdain of Cerdagne as his successor. William held on to the mountain and continued to threaten Tripoli. The city's situation deteriorated; the inhabitants were losing all hope, food was increasingly scarce. Many of the rich were obliged to sell their jewelry and "curious expensive vessels"[18] for food, while Ibn ʿAmmār imposed heavy taxes on them to support the poor. To encourage his demoralized citizens Ibn ʿAmmār went to Baghdad in 1108 to seek the help of the Seljuq sultan. He was received like a king in both Damascus and Baghdad, but quarrels among his lieutenants led to a further deterioration of the situation in Tripoli and in his absence the population turned to Cairo for protection. That the Banū ʿAmmār were independent of the Fatimid sultans of Egypt was tantamount to treason, but news of it was not to reach Ibn ʿAmmār until his return in 1110. In the meantime the Fatimids were only too willing to

[15] For a general background, see Stephen A. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–54).

[16] In 1154, Idrisī writes about the fortress that was "built by the Frank Ibn Sanjil." E Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie au XII^e et XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1883), p. 372; in his history, Abū al-Fidā talks of a fortress with a "ribat below it" (Abū al-Fidā, *Annales* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens orientaux*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1872–1906), 1:9

[17] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 40; Abū al-Fidā, *Annales*, 1:6, 9; Roger le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1175: L'histoire de Damas d'Ibn al-Qalānisī* (Damascus, 1952), p. 53.

[18] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 41; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens orientaux*, 1:236; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 41

send governors and troops to take over the city and avail themselves of whatever plunder they could lay their hands on. Sharaf al-Dawlah, the Fatimid envoy, made sure that the relatives and partisans of the Banū ʿAmmār were all shipped to Egypt under armed guard along with the treasures of Fakhr al-Mulk before settling into his new position as governor of Tripoli,[19] but no substantial military reinforcements appeared.

In the meantime, in 1109, a great fleet under the command of Bertrand, Raymond's son, arrived on the Tripoli coast and took its position before the city, amply supplied with arms and other necessities. But William Jourdain, Raymond's nephew, was still in command, and a fight broke out between the two leaders[20] over the legal rights of each to Tripoli. King Baldwin I came from Jerusalem to settle the conflict between the two contenders by giving Tripoli and Jubayl to Bertrand, and Tortose and ʿArqā to Jourdain. Once reconciled, the two joined forces to attack Tripoli from land and sea, while the city still waited in vain for Fatimid troops to arrive. After seven years of stubborn resistance, Tripoli finally fell to the Crusaders on July 12, 1109.[21]

Baldwin had guaranteed the people of Tripoli a safe exit from the city, but he did not have sufficient control over his troops to enforce his promise. As soon as the gates of the city had been opened, the pillage and massacre began; most of the women and the children were sold into slavery.[22] Under Raymond's successors, however, Tripoli was quickly rebuilt and fortified and soon regained its commercial importance and prosperity. Churches, convents, and hospitals were constructed, and it was reestablished as a center for learning and for the sciences equal to Jerusalem and Antioch. By the thirteenth century it was again densely populated, and commerce and industry flourished. It boasted a large number of oil presses and four thousand silk looms, superb public buildings, and numerous palaces.[23]

This twelfth-century city at first had a Provençal character, since it maintained close ties with the region whence its conquerors had come, but in time the counts of Toulouse lost interest in their faraway holdings and were no longer willing to contribute to the maintenance of a Christian kingdom in the Holy Land. The county of Tripoli had to look elsewhere for its recruits, and the influence of the Italian cities and the north began to dominate.

[19] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp 41–42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, p. 225.
[20] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, pp. 273-74.
[21] Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1175*, p. 85.
[22] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 43; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, p. 274.
[23] Rey, *Colonies franques*, pp 181, 372–73

In the thirteenth century the country suffered numerous feudal revolts — uprisings in 1205 and 1287 and internal disputes led finally to the formation of the commune of Tripoli, which represented the knights and the bourgeoisie in their complaints against the oppression of Antioch, its administrative capital. The unity which seems to have been maintained in Tripoli under Raymond's successors dissolved in the thirteenth century, and internal rivalries and ambitions, accompanied by the growing power of the Italians and other maritime powers, and of the Knights Templar and Hospitaler, who enjoyed considerable independence and the support of the papacy, all weakened the Latin kingdom.[24]

THE MAMLUKS

The Muslims in the meantime made every effort to liberate Arab lands from Crusader control. The first major anti-Latin campaign was undertaken by ʿImād al-Dīn Zangi, prince of Aleppo, who managed to free a few strongholds before his death in 1146. His son Nūr al-Dīn (1146-74) gained control over Damascus and was thus able to form a unified Muslim front against the Crusaders. His rule over Egypt further strengthened his position and enabled him to undertake the liberation of Arab lands from Christian rule under the banner of the Holy War *(jihād)*. He prepared the way for Ṣalāh al-Dīn (Saladin), the great enemy of the Crusaders, who in the last quarter of the twelfth century managed to regain considerable territory and to improve the position of the Muslims after his victory at Hittin in 1187, a battle at which the Latins suffered great loses. Aware that Tripoli's fortifications were strong, Saladin did not attack the city directly, but concentrated his efforts on its environs.[25]

After Saladin's death his son al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (r. 1183-1218) attempted to liberate Tripoli with the help of ten thousand cavalry, who joined him from neighboring Muslim cities. He besieged the city with war machines; his soldiers plundered and destroyed all the surrounding land and villages and cut the water supply to the city. The Latins suffered great loses and soon petitioned for peace by sending money and presents to the Muslims and releasing three hundred of their prisoners. A peace was signed in 1206.[26]

Al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 1260-77), the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, formed a unified Syrian-Egyptian front to face an invasion by the Mongols, who had moved from the steppes of Central Asia, and under Hulagu, the grandson of Chingiz Khan, made devastating incursions into Iraq and

[24] Jean Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 39), (Paris, 1945), pp 89-92

[25] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 236-60.

[26] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamel Altevarykh*, 2:106.

Syria. A second objective was to free the Levant from the Latins.[27] Baybars attacked Antioch successfully and moved against Tripoli in 1265, but the city put up strong resistance, and he had to satisfy himself with taking some neighboring fortresses.[28] But when local Christians joined forces with the Latins and descended on him from the mountains of Lebanon, he had to give up the siege.[29] In 1270 Baybars attacked the city again, and this time was able to take the Krac des Chevaliers, an important nearby fortress, and sign truces with local garrisons. Having cut Tripoli from all contact by land, he was ready to take the city, but this time his intentions were frustrated by the arrival of another Crusade from the West. The Muslims had to wait for the Mamluk Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn to regain Tripoli.

Qalā'ūn (r. 1280-90) began by signing a truce with the Latins, so that his armies would be free to deal with the Mongols first. The truce was to run for a period of ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours, beginning on Saturday, July 5, 1281, but it was broken many times before the decade had ended.[30] With the help of troops from Damascus, Qalā'ūn took the fortress of al-Marqab in 1285 and Latakia in 1287. An opportunity to attack Tripoli came in October of the same year, when Bohemond VII died without heir and several contenders to the throne (including an Armenian princess, Sybil, and Bohemond's sister Lucy) began a struggle over the succession. Bartholomew, the prince of Jubayl, finally won, but the legitimacy of his rule was challenged, and intrigue weakened the Latin position still further. The interference of the Genoese, who had trading ties with Tripoli, into its local politics produced the chaos Qalā'ūn needed,[31] and the excuse for breaking the truce was provided by the Crusaders themselves: from Damascus the news reached Qalā'ūn in Cairo that the Latins of Tripoli had imprisoned a number of Muslim merchants.[32]

Although Tripoli by now sheltered a fair number of Christians who had fled as erstwhile Crusader strongholds had fallen to the Muslims and

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[27] Baybars did not forget that Bohemond had helped the Mongols against the Muslims. He was, in addition, the most formidable of the Frankish leaders because his reliable supply line from the West allowed him to keep up his attacks against the Muslims. Sa'īd 'Ashūr, *Miṣr Fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Bahriyyah* (Cairo, 1959), p. 51.

[28] Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *Kitāb 'Aqd al-Zamān* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades; Historiens orientaux,* 2:221.

[29] E J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931), pp 269–72.

[30] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp 268–69, 283; Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li Ma'rifat al-Duwal wal Mulūk*, ed. N Ziadeh and S. 'Ashūr, 3 vols (Cairo, 1970), 1, pt 3, pp 975-76

[31] 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār Masājid wa Madāris Ṭarāblus* (Tripoli, 1974), pp 15–18; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 187.

[32] Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed C. Zurayk and N Izzedine, 9 vols. (Beirut, 1939), 8:80



Figure 3. Coin minted in Tripoli, A D 220–221
Reverse: the representation of the Temple of Zeus.
American University of Beirut, Museum of Archaeology.

although ships from Cyprus and the Italian cities had provided aid, the city lacked the resources to oppose the Mamluk armies effectively. The "liberation" of Tripoli was reported by Ibn al-Furāt and by al-Maqrīzī, the Mamluk historian.[33] On Thursday, the tenth day of Muḥarram (A H. 688/A D. 1289), Sultan Qalā'ūn set up camp outside Cairo and began his preparations. He sent letters to all the Muslim Syrian cities, asking them to ready themselves to join him in an attack on Tripoli. Then, leaving his son al-Ashraf Khalīl as guardian of the Citadel and Amir Baydara as lieutenant and vizier, he went to Damascus, and then on to Tripoli, with a tremendous army.[34] On the twentieth day of Safar he began the siege, and the city fell on the seventh hour of Tuesday, the fourteenth of Rabī' II 688 (26 April 1289) after thirty-four days. Victory had been won with the help of nineteen war machines set up against the walls and fifteen thousand men.

[33] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, ed. and trans M Quatremère, 2 vols. (Paris, 1862), 2:102–3.
[34] An army of 40,000 knights and 100,000 foot soldiers according to 'Ashūr, *Al-Ayyūbiyyūn wal-Mamālīk fi Miṣr wal-Shām*, p 259; King, *Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, p. 288, gives 10,000 knights and 33,000 foot soldiers.

The city's inhabitants fled to Nakhlah, a small island near the harbor, normally accessible only by boat. An especially low tide allowed the Muslim armies to cross over, however, and thus they trapped and captured the fleeing Latins. Many were massacred, and some twelve hundred were imprisoned in the sultan's arsenal. Abū al-Fidā, the Syrian geographer who witnessed the siege and liberation of Tripoli, writes that when he arrived at the island after the armies had pillaged and left, the ground was covered with so many corpses he could neither breathe nor walk.[35]

The Muslims responded to the fall of Tripoli with joyful celebrations, and its liberation was hailed at Friday prayers. Cities were decorated, festivities were organized, poets and writers commemorated the great occasion. Even the reaction of the West was unexpectedly cordial, with promises of renewed agreements and commercial ties. When Qalā'ūn undertook to rebuild the city, he was advised to move it inland to erase all traces of its Christian past and to provide better protection and defense against future attacks from the sea. The sultan ordered the leveling of old Tripoli and the construction of a new Mamluk city, Ṭarābulus al-Mustajaddah, inland.[36]

The Mamluk City

The building of the new city is reported by a number of chroniclers and travelers who visited or heard about it, but these accounts are apt to devote considerable attention to the site, the water supply, the trees, and the general prosperity of the area, and almost none to the details of the buildings, aside from remarking on their construction, their number, and their beauty.

The new city, according to the geographer Dimashqī (1300), who repeatedly refers to Ṭarābulus al-Mustajaddah ("Tripoli Renewed"), was built on a spur of the Lebanon mountain range inland from the old town, on the bank of the Qadisha River just above the point where it flows into the sea. This provided a site, partly level and partly on a mountainside, which had the advantages of proximity to both sea and countryside.[37] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who visited Tripoli in 1355, described it as "newly built . . . constructed to replace ancient Tripoli which was destroyed by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,"[38] and in the fifteenth century Ibn al-Shiḥnah talks about

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[35] Abū al-Fidā, *Annales*, p. 9.

[36] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp 294-95; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 26–27

[37] Dimashqī, "Nikhbat al-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wal-Baḥr," *Cosmographie*, trans. M. A F. Mehren (Leipzig, 1923), p. 207

[38] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, trans. C. Defrémey and B R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols. (Paris, 1853–58), 1:137–38

it as an independent city built to replace the ancient town after the Muslim conquest. Both al-Maqrīzī (1442) and Ibn al-Furāt (1405) mention the building of "another city" on the river at a distance from the now destroyed ancient town.[39]

The newly rebuilt city was on the site of Raymond's garrison, in an area known as the Valley of the Churches,[40] which had a reputation as a place of stagnant water and evil, insalubrious air. Writing in 1349, al-ʿUmarī[41] says that "when the new city was first constructed, it was on an unhealthy spot, and life there was both difficult and unpleasant. But after a while, the marshes around it were drained, gardens were laid out, and flowers and trees planted, and the air became healthier."[42]

Under the Mamluks Syria was organized into six *mamlakahs*, or kingdoms, of which Tripoli was one.[43] It included the extreme northern parts of Lebanon, the coast to the north of Latakia, and the Nusyriyyah mountains. Tripoli was divided into six civic *niyabahs*, or districts, six military *niyabahs*, and six *wilayahs*, or provinces,[44] a system modeled after that of the sultanate in Egypt. Its central city must have grown quickly in importance and prestige, for it was considered a more desirable post than Hama; the only offices regarded as more prestigious were those of Aleppo and Safad.[45]

Descriptions of Tripoli in the fourteenth century[46] often remark both on its rate of growth and on the speed with which that spacious city was constructed. Travelers mention its numerous mosques and madrasahs, its beautiful markets and luxurious baths, and its construction of whitewashed stone, but what most impressed everyone who visited the new city was the water system — running water was supplied to every

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[39] Abū al-Walīd Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Kitāb al-Durr al-Muntakhab fi Tārīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. Yousef Sarkis al-Dimashqī (Beirut, 1909), pp 262-63; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, 8:81.

[40] Abū al-Fidā, *Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 10.

[41] Quoted by Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 472–73, appendix 2.

[42] Al-ʿUmarī goes on to say that when its first governor, Usindamur al-Kurjī, arrived in Tripoli in 1298, he could not stand the unhealthy air and asked a physician, Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd, what to do about it. The physician recommended increasing the number of camels and cattle in the vicinity, and when that was done, the air in fact improved Al-ʿUmarī's text was copied by Aḥmad ibn ʿAl. al-Qalqashandī in his *Subḥ al-Aʿshā fi Ṣināʿat al-Inshā*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1914-28), vol 4, *Syria*. Translated into French by Gaudefroy Demombynes in *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1923), pp. 110-11

[43] Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Beirut, 1953), p 11 The other *mamlakahs* were Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Safad, and al-Karak.

[44] Ibid , p. 14, and al-Qalqashandī in Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, pp 118-24; for further details, see al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālīk*, ed P Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), p 133

[45] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 43

[46] See Ibn Fadl Allah al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1924), p. 472, who was copied by al-Qalqashandī, Ibn al-Shiḥnah, and others.

house. Scarcely a description of Tripoli survives that does not mention the water channels everywhere and the water piped from the neighboring hills that could reach the tops of houses several stories high.[47]

The gardens and orchards of Tripoli irrigated by the waters of the Qadisha River are also repeatedly praised by medieval travelers. In Dimashqī's words, "There is hardly a house in the town that does not have numerous trees [in its court], for the waters flow everywhere, coming down from the Lebanon mountains ... and in the gardens of Tripoli are all kinds of fruit as you would never find elsewhere, sugarcane, sycamores, and sage in great abundance, along with colocassia."[48] In 1377 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah described it as traversed by water channels and full of gardens;[49] the German clergyman von Suchem, who traveled through the Holy Land between 1336 and 1341, speaks of "a mount full of the most delightful trees, fruits, and vegetation that the heart of man can conceive,"[50] and in 1349 al-ʿUmarī lists the agricultural wealth of Tripoli as including a variety of fruits: bananas, walnuts, dates, grapes, and sugarcane.[51]

Tripoli's fertile soil was put to good commercial use by the Mamluks. Presses extracted oil from the olives harvested from groves surrounding the city,[52] and small factories made soap for export from the extracted oil[53] (a manufacture still carried on in Tripoli today). Sugar was extracted from the cane that Tripoli raised; sugar refining continued uninterrupted from the first Arab occupation through the Crusader period to Mamluk times.[54] Under the Mamluks Tripoli and Beirut introduced sugar to the West, and the trade continued well into the end of the fifteenth century, with Tripoli and Damascus supplying Europe with sugar in the form of loaf, powder, and candy.[55] Another industry for which Tripoli was known and which continued to prosper in Mamluk times was textiles; its silk was particularly sought after, especially velvet, which was made both for local consumption and for export.[56]

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47 Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Kitāb al-Durr*, p. 263; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭā*, ed. H.A.R Gibb, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1958–61), 1:88; al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālīk*, p 48; al-ʿUmarī in Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 472.

48 Dimashqī, *Cosmographie*, p 207, also Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims* (Beirut, 1965), p 351

49 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, 1:88

50 Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 337.

51 Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 373.

52 The *waqfiyyah* of the Madrasah Khayriyyah Hasan consists of olive groves

53 A decree on a side door to the Great Mosque abolishes taxes on oil and soap; in Ottoman times a khan was built for the soap trade.

54 Continuous records of sugarcane harvests are provided by al-Istakhrī (950); Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (1047), al-Idrisī (1154), and al-ʿUmarī, (fourteenth century).

55 W Hyed, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1967), 2:686; Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 338.

56 Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 382.

Agriculture and small industry played an important role in the economy of Mamluk Tripoli, but commerce and trade remained the major source of income as it had been one of the major reasons for its reconstruction. Trade under the Mamluks expanded enormously, thanks to Tripoli's location and trading facilities as well as the protection against abuses and piracy that was provided for merchants to encourage trade between East and West.[57] Its role as the major trading port of Syria is confirmed in the sources. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah talks about its curious suqs;[58] al-ʿUmarī marvels at its trade, and mentions its port and the many ships at anchor there; al-Qalqashandī praises its harbor;[59] and Ibn al-Shiḥnah documents the many Western merchants who came to Tripoli to trade their goods for cotton and other merchandise that had been brought there from as far away as India.[60] The city that sheltered all this activity was described by al-Ẓāhirī in 1467 as "Syrian-Egyptian" in its beauty.[61]

After the Ottoman takeover of the Fertile Crescent in 1517, Tripoli remained a major commercial and trading center, but in the seventeenth century it began to lose ground, as fighting among the Ottoman pashas weakened the trading and commercial system and Tripoli gave way to Beirut as an administrative center.

Today Tripoli remains prosperous. It is the second largest city in Lebanon after Beirut and still an important port. In 1955 a flood destroyed the river's two embankments and swept away buildings along both banks in the process, including several Mamluk monuments. In the 1970s the civil war may have caused further damage to the old city, but its extent is yet to be determined.

[57] ʿAshūr, *Al-Ayyūbiyyūn wal Mamālīk fi Miṣr wal Shām*, p. 350.
[58] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, 1:138.
[59] Al-ʿUmarī, cited in Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 384; al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā fi Ṣinā ʿat al-Inshā*, 4: 143.
[60] Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Kitāb al-Durr*, p. 264.
[61] Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālīk*, p 48.



CHAPTER TWO

Mosques

Of the nine mosques built during the two centuries of Mamluk rule in Tripoli (Appendix A), at least seven were erected in the first hundred years. A mosque was the first building constructed in the new Muslim city, and it was followed by a succession of others which arose every ten or twenty years throughout the fourteenth century; construction then declined in the fifteenth century, as the population stabilized and additional places of prayer were no longer required. Six — the Great Mosque, and the mosques of al-ʿAṭṭār, Ṭaynāl, al-Uwaysī, al-Burṭāsī, and al-Tawbah — were congregational jamiʿs where Friday prayers were held, and three — the mosques of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Arghūn Shāh, and Ṭaḥḥān — were quarter masjids for local use.

The mosques were evenly spread throughout the city (Appendix B), except for the section on the right bank of the river, which did not develop sufficiently to require a mosque of its own. Their location was only in part determined by the people who endowed them. Al-Burṭāsī and al-Uwaysī chose virgin ground, but almost all the other mosques incorporated earlier structures, either by consciously transforming abandoned Christian buildings or by taking practical advantage of elements from them or from already standing Muslim structures. The Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār and the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid were conscious and pious transformations of a church and a khan respectively; the Great Mosque used an already standing tower and gateway for its minaret and main entrance; Ṭaynāl's mosque incorporated parts of a Carmelite church into its vestibule; the Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān was built over existing shops; and the Mosque of Arghūn Shāh was produced by enlarging a small zāwiyah.

The sponsors of these mosques reflected the sociopolitical structure of the time. Three had rulers for patrons: the Great Mosque was more or less an imperial mosque sponsored by the sultans in Cairo, and the mosques of Ṭaynāl and Arghūn Shāh were founded by local governors. Three mosques are named after wealthy citizens — ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, al-Uwaysī, al-Burṭāsī — who endowed them, and two were built by merchants — the perfumer al-ʿAṭṭār and the miller al-Ṭaḥḥān. Whoever had the money and wanted to endow a mosque in Tripoli could do so; there seems to be no distinction either in date of construction or in scale between those built by the powerful and those by rich merchants.

The ground plans of the mosques built in Tripoli turn up very few traditional types. The Great Mosque and the Jamiʿ al-Tawbah show the standard arrangements of courtyard surrounded by portico and of a deep qiblah hall for prayer, but the rest are less conventional. By the fourteenth century there was no longer a standard mosque plan, and a great variety of forms were used. The Mosque of Ṭaynāl, for instance, and the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī (which was first conceived as a madrasah) follow plans akin to those of covered Syrian madrasahs with three raised iwans around a central court. The mosques of al-ʿAṭṭār and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, on the other hand, show peculiar arrangements arising from their somewhat different functions, and the mosques of al-Ṭaḥḥān and Arghūn Shāh have simply used a large space divided by the supports that bear the roof.

THE GREAT MOSQUE

Founded in A.D 1294 by al-Ashraf Khalīl; completed in 1314 by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Both were sons of Qalāʾūn.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the area known as Nūriyyah, at the foot of the Citadel. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 2.

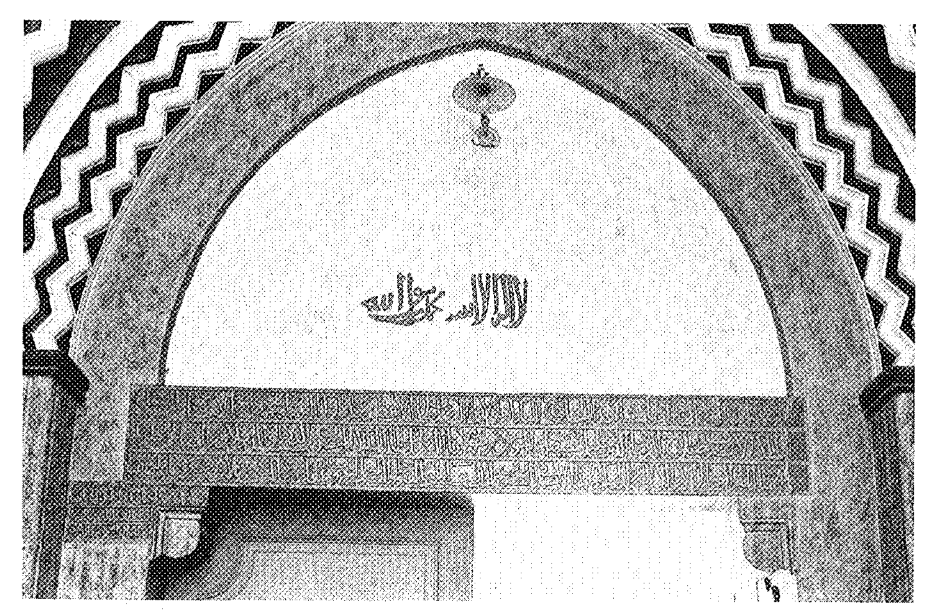


Figure 4. Great Mosque, main entrance, founding inscription on lintel.

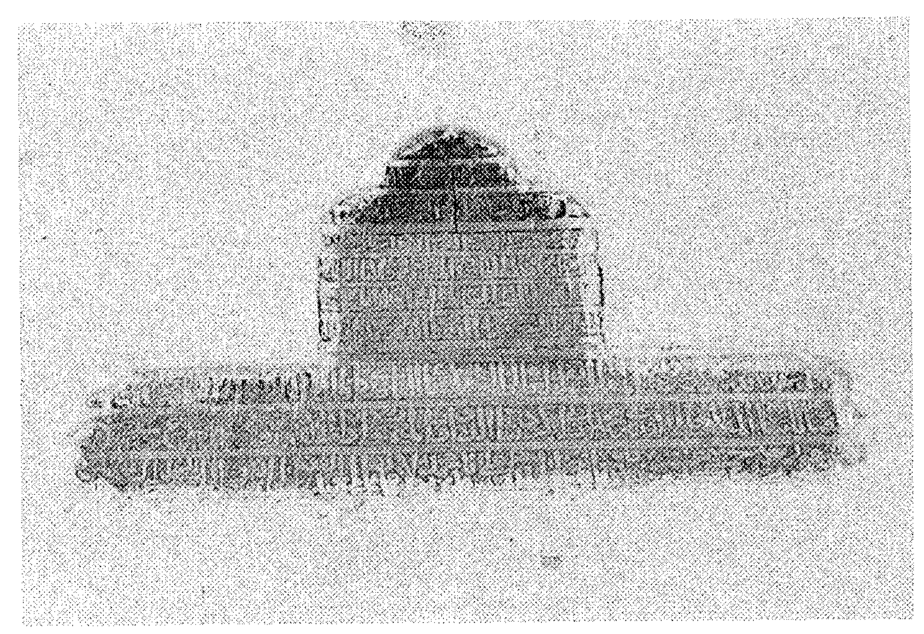


Figure 5. Great Mosque, eastern wall of courtyard, inscription testifying to the completion of the mosque.

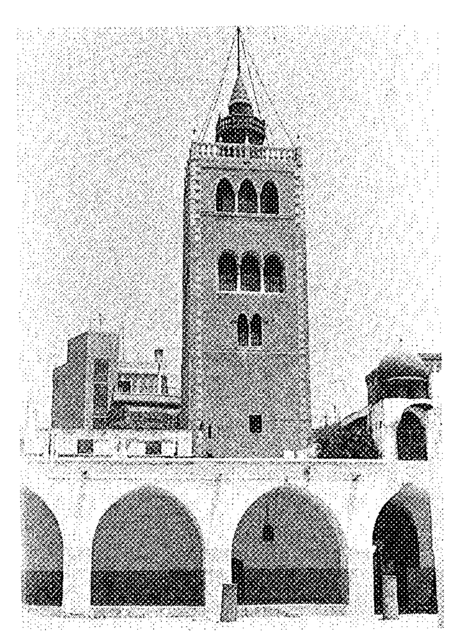


Figure 6 Great Mosque, minaret.

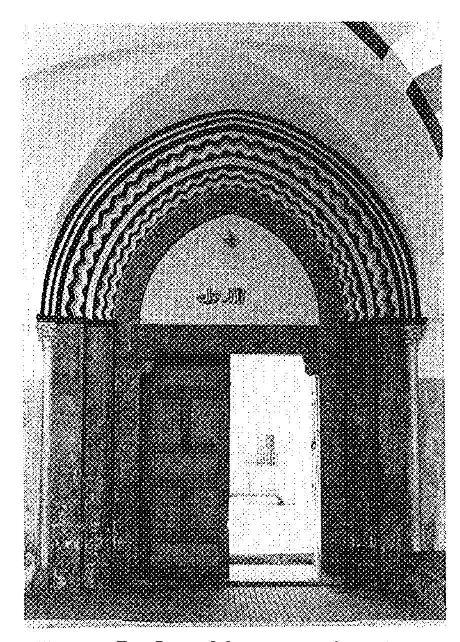


Figure 7. Great Mosque, main entrance.

History and Inscriptions

The Great Mosque, the first monument built in the new, Mamluk, Tripoli, remains the largest and best known of the city's mosques. Officially named the Jamiʿ al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr after al-Manṣūr Qalāʾūn, who liberated Tripoli from the Crusaders in 1289, it was erected by his two sons, al-Ashraf Khalīl, who ordered its construction in 1294, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who had the arcade built around the courtyard in 1314. Located on the site of what was once a Crusaders' suburb at the foot of the Citadel, the mosque was often mistaken for a remodeled Christian church[1] by medieval travelers and modern historians alike. Two elements, the door and the minaret, probably do belong to an earlier, Christian structure and were incorporated into the mosque when it was built, but the building — its court, arcades, fountain, and prayer hall — is essentially a Muslim creation.

The building has four inscriptions. Two record the date of the construction and the names of its founders. The first, set on the lintel of the main entrance to the mosque (fig. 4), consists of three lines of clearly written naskh. It reads as follows:[2]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بانشاء هذا الجامع المبارك مولانا السلطان الاعظم سيد ملوك
العرب والعجم فاتح الامصار ومبيد الكفار الملك الاشرف صلاح الدنيا والدين خليل قسيم
امير المؤمنين بن مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين قلاون الصالحى خلد
الله ملكه فى نيابة المقر العالى الاميرى الكبيرى العزى عز الدين ايبك الخزندار الاشرفى
المنصورى نائب السلطنة بالفتوحات والسواحل المحروسة عفا الله عنه وذلك فى سنة ثلاث
وتسعين وستمائه والحمد لله وحده .

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, our master the most powerful sultan, lord of Arab and Persian kings, conqueror of the frontiers and exterminator of the infidels, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā waʾl-Dīn Khalīl, the associate of the commander of the faithful, son of our master al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā waʾl-Dīn Qalāʾūn al-Ṣalihī, may God perpetuate his reign, has ordered the construction of this sacred mosque [jamiʿ], during the governorship of His High Excellency the great Amir al-ʿIzzī ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Khazandār [the treasurer] al-Ashrafī al-Manṣūrī, governor of the sultanate in the conquered lands and protected shores, may God forgive him. In the year six hundred and ninety-three [A.D. 1294]. Glory to God the One and Only.

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[1] Al-Nābulsī in 1700 records that "they say it was originally a church"; see ʿAbd-al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Nābulsiyyah fi al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulsiyyah*, ed. Herbert Busse (Beiruter Text und Studien 4) (Beirut, 1971), p. 72; Victor Guérin, *La Terre Sainte, son histoire, ses sites, ses monuments*, 2 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1882–84), 2:88, "l'église de St Jean transformée en mosquée par les conquérants musulmans"; Bruce Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1961), p. 29, "the Grand Mosque of Tripoli was a Crusader church"

[2] Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, *Syrie du Nord* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 25 [Cairo, 1909]), pp. 49–50, Inscription nos. 20A and B, and plate 5. Inscription, with French translation, and explanation of the titles of al-Ashraf Khalīl, p. 51.

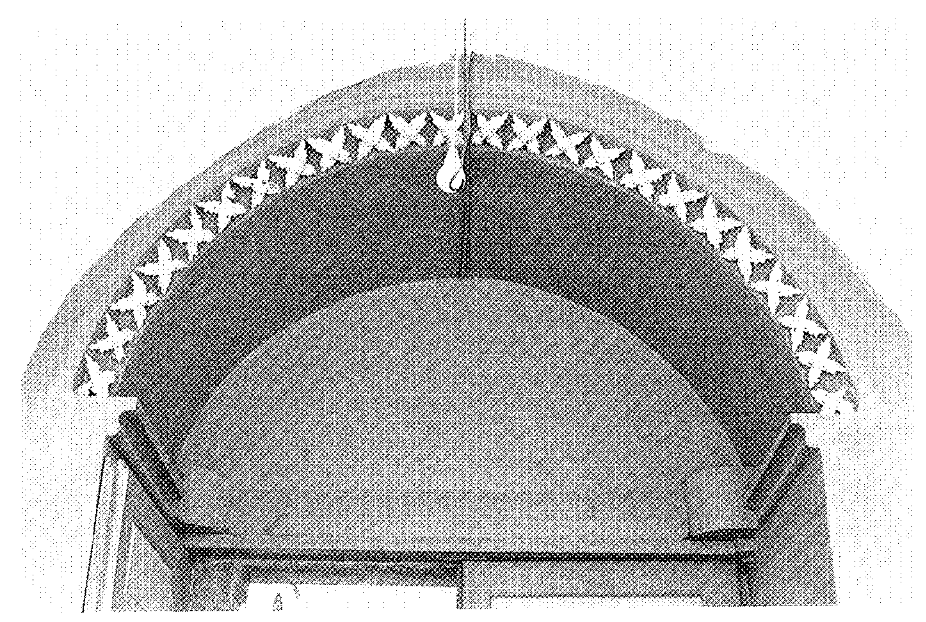


Figure 8. Great Mosque, main entrance, facing courtyard.

Following the inscription, in the left-hand corner, between the lintel and the arch, three additional short lines have been squeezed in. They read:

> تولى عمارة هذا الجامع المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى سالم الصهيونى ابن ناصر
> العجمى عفا الله عنه .

> The humble servant of God Sālim al-Ṣahyūnī, son of Nāṣir al-Dīn the Persian, has supervised [or has undertaken] the construction of this blessed mosque [jami']. May God forgive him.

The second inscription is set in the eastern wall of the arcade around the courtyard (fig. 5) and refers to the completion of the mosque. A plaque of white marble shaped like a trilobed arch on a horizontal band, it comprises ten lines of naskh and reads as follows:[3]

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر أمر بانشاء هذه
> الرواقات تكملة الجامع المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر العالم العادل المجاهد
> المظفر المنصور ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد ابن قلاون خلد الله ملكه فى نيابة المقر
> الشريف العالى السيفيى كستاى الناصرى كافل المملكة الشريفة الطرابلسية اعز الله
> انصاره باشارة المقر العالى البدرى محمد ابن ابى بكر شاد الدواوين المعمورة ادام الله
> نعمته وكان الفراغ منه فى شهور سنة خمس عشر وسبعمائة وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد
> قولا عمارته العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى احمد ابن حسن البعلبكى المهندز .

[3] Ibid , pp. 51–53, Inscription no. 21, with comments, pp. 54–55.

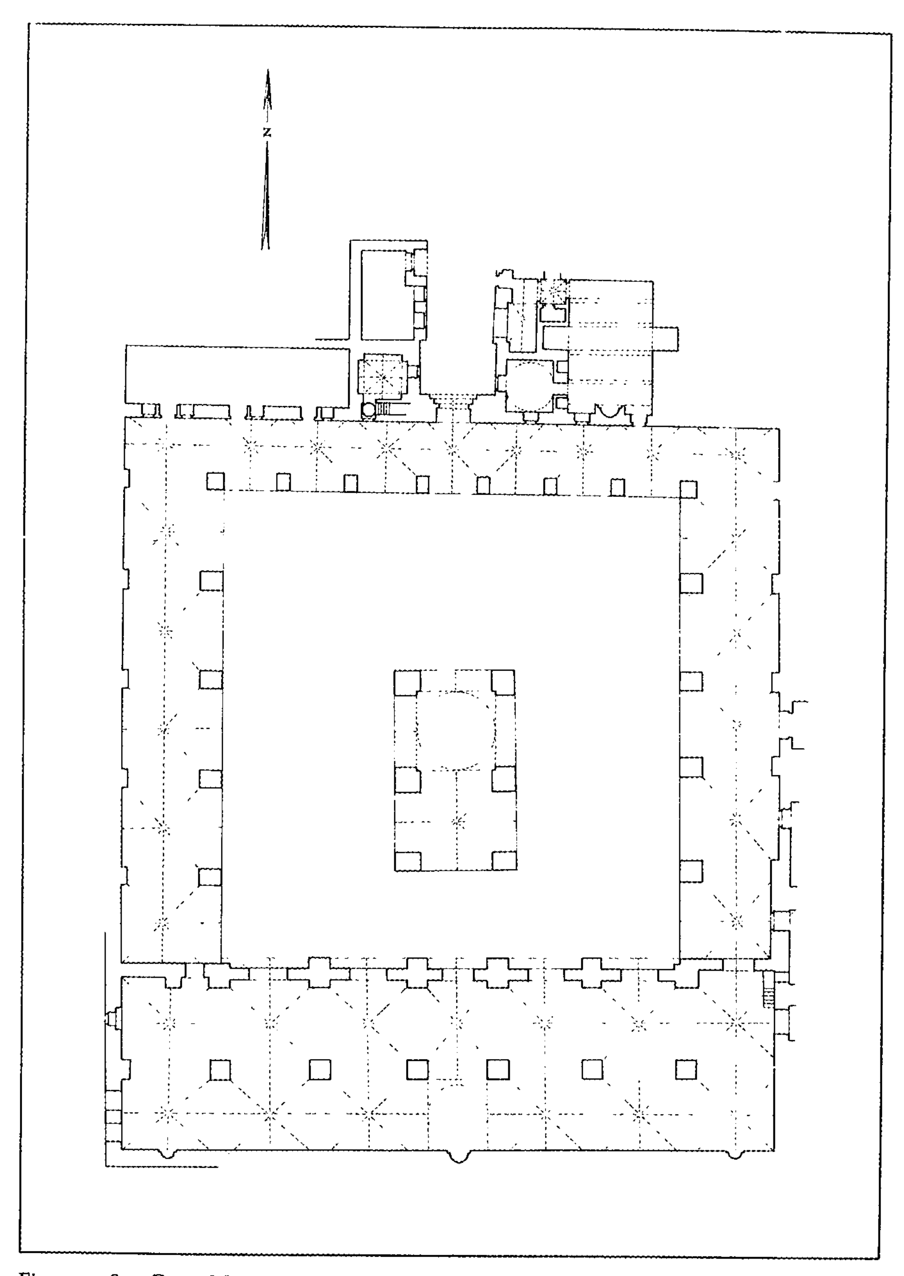


Figure 9. Great Mosque, plan.

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, only the one who believes in God and the Last Day shall inhabit God's places of worship [Qur'an 9 18]. Our master the sultan, the king, the victorious, the just, the learned, the warrior, the triumphant, Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn, may God perpetuate his reign, has ordered these riwāqs to complete the blessed mosque, during the governorship of His High Noble Excellency Kustāy al-Nāṣirī, governor of the province of Tripoli, may God fortify his victories, under the supervision of His High Excellency Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, inspector of flourishing diwans, may God lengthen his favor. It was completed in the months of the year seven hundred and fifteen [A D 1314-15], may God bless our lord Muḥammad. The humble servant of God Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Ba'labakī the architect has supervised [or undertaken] its construction.[4]

The first inscription tells us that the building of the Great Mosque was ordered by al-Ashraf Khalīl, son of Qalā'ūn, during the governorship of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Khazandār, his treasurer,[5] in 1294. From the second, we can conclude that it was completed and the arcades were ordered by al-Malik al-Nāṣir, son of Qalā'ūn, during the governorship of Kustāy al-Nāṣirī and under the supervision of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, by the architect Aḥmad al-Ba'labakī. Work was completed in 1314-15.

A third inscription is on a secondary mihrab to the left of the axial mihrab on the qiblah side of the building. It has four lines of naskh recording that Usindamur ordered the marble revetment of the mihrab in 1478:[6]

امر بترخيم هذا المحراب المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تمالى ؛ ازدمر الاشرفى كافـــل
المملكة الشريفة الطرابلسية المحروسة اعز الله انصاره فى ايام مولانا وسيدنا قاضى القضـــاة
الشافعى الامام فى مستهل ربيع الآخرة سنة ثلاث وثمانين وثمانمائة بمباشرة محمد الشاد .

The humble slave of God, Usindamur al-Ashrafī, governor of the royal province of Tripoli, the well protected, has ordered the marble revetment of the blessed mihrab, may God fortify his victories, under the administration of our lord the judge of judges[7] the Shafi'ite, the Imām in the beginning of Rabi' II of the year eight hundred and eighty-three [A D 1478] under the supervision of Inspector Muḥammad.

[4] The word *muhandiss* squeezed into the left corner of the inscription can mean either architect or engineer. It was added to Sobernheim's reading by N. Elisséef and published by Jean Sauvaget, "Notes sur quelques inscriptions arabes de Baalbek et de Tripoli," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7 (1944–45): 7–11, esp. p 10 For the use of the word *muhandiss* and its origin, see idem, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1941), p. 66, n 269

[5] Not to be confused with 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī, who built the mausoleum and hammam named after him

[6] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 57, Inscription 24, and pl 6.

[7] A curious case of a qadi, or judge, being referred to as "our lord" and "our master "

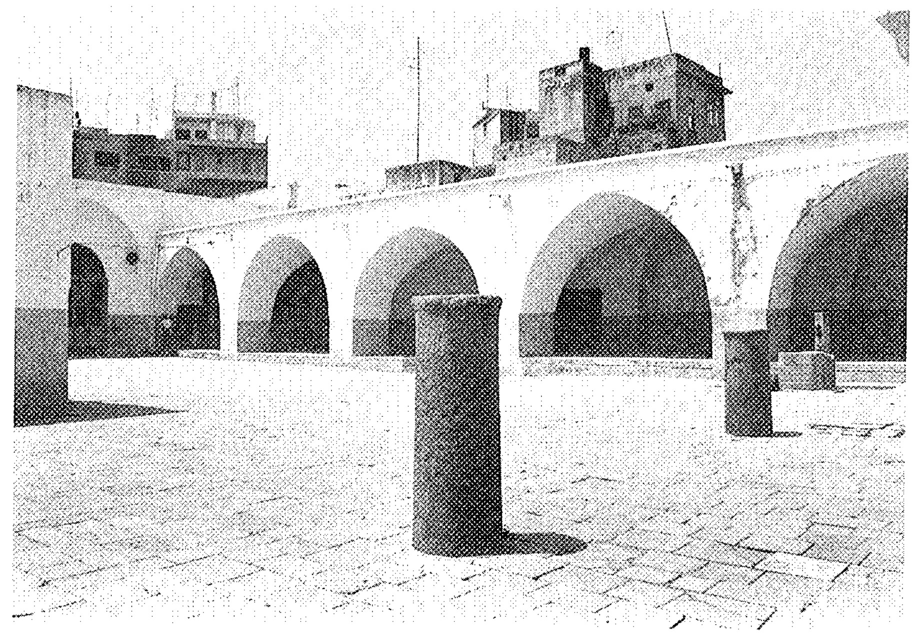


Figure 10. Great Mosque, courtyard, remains of classical columns

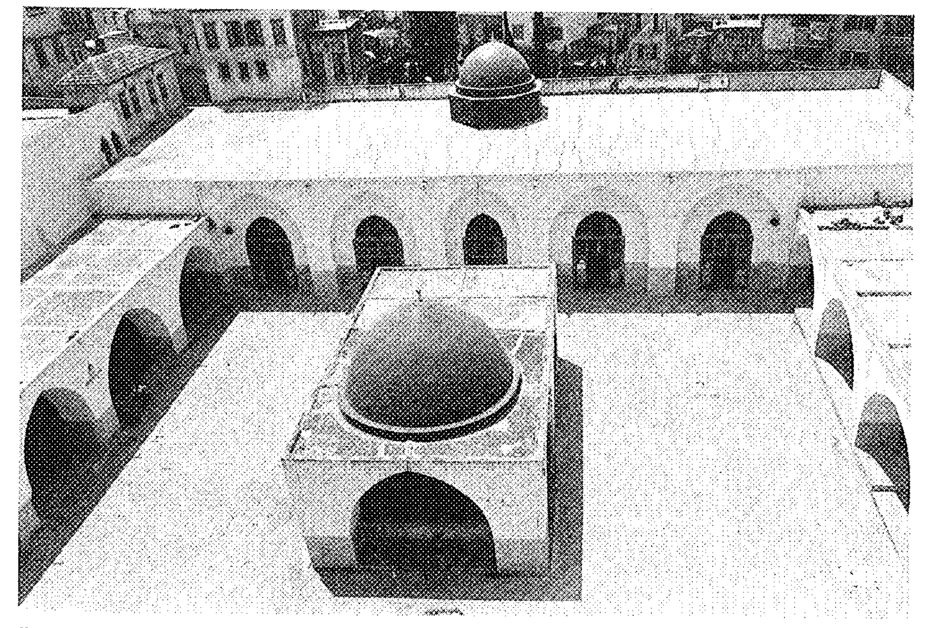


Figure 11. Great Mosque, courtyard.

The minbar has the fourth inscription, two lines in a clear naskh, which identify its donor as Amir Qaraṭây and give the date of its execution as 1326. It reads as follows:[8]

امر بانشاء هذا المبنى المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قرطاى بن عبد الله الناصرى
اثابه الله فاقام به من ماله بكتوان بن عبد الله الشهابى تقبل الله منه وذلك فى شهر
ذو القعدة سنة سته وعشرين وسبعميه .

> The humble slave of God, Qaraṭāy, son of ʿAbdallah al-Nāṣirī, has ordered the construction of this blessed minbar, may God reward him. He has delegated this work to Bakthuwān, son of ʿAbdallah al-Shahābī, may God recognize his effort, in the month of zu al-Qaʿdah of the year seven hundred and twenty-six [A D. 1326].

Amir Qaraṭây was twice governor of Tripoli, from 1316 to 1326 and from 1332 to 1333. During his first term he endowed this beautiful minbar and also built the finest madrasah in Tripoli, the Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah, adjoining the mosque to the east.

Description

The Great Mosque occupies an area of about 50 by 60 meters in the middle of the city. It does not have an elaborate façade, but is readily identifiable from the outside by its minaret and its main northern gate, the two controversial elements responsible for the theory that it is a remodeled Christian church.

The square-towered minaret (fig. 6) has been replastered and repaired many times. It has four floors topped by a balcony on which an octagonal shaft, with its own balcony and conical dome, has been built in recent years. The first story of the minaret has no openings; the second has two arched windows with a central column on each of its four sides; and the third and fourth have three arched windows on the south and north and two on the east and west. The minaret is probably part of the Crusaders' Church of St. Mary, known to have existed at the foot of the Citadel. Although Arab sources do not say anything about its peculiarities,[9] Western scholars have puzzled over its shape since the nineteenth century. The Marquis de Vogüé, a nineteenth-century French historian and traveler, thought that the way the stories were laid out, the shape of the windows, and the arrangement of the bell tower suggested a Christian belfry,[10] and when Max van Berchem saw it on his first trip to Tripoli in 1895, he remarked on how its square tower recalled the campaniles of northern Italy.[11] Modern guidebooks repeat that theme when

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[8] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 55, Inscription no. 22, and pl 6.

[9] The literature makes no reference to a minaret.

[10] Charles J M de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), p. 375

[11] Max van Berchem, "Recherches archéologiques en Syrie," *Journal Asiatique*, 9 ser , vol 6 (1895), p. 491

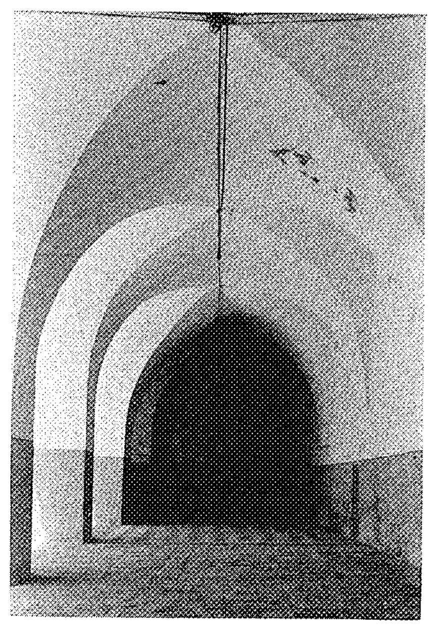


Figure 12. Great Mosque, courtyard, vaulted porticoes.

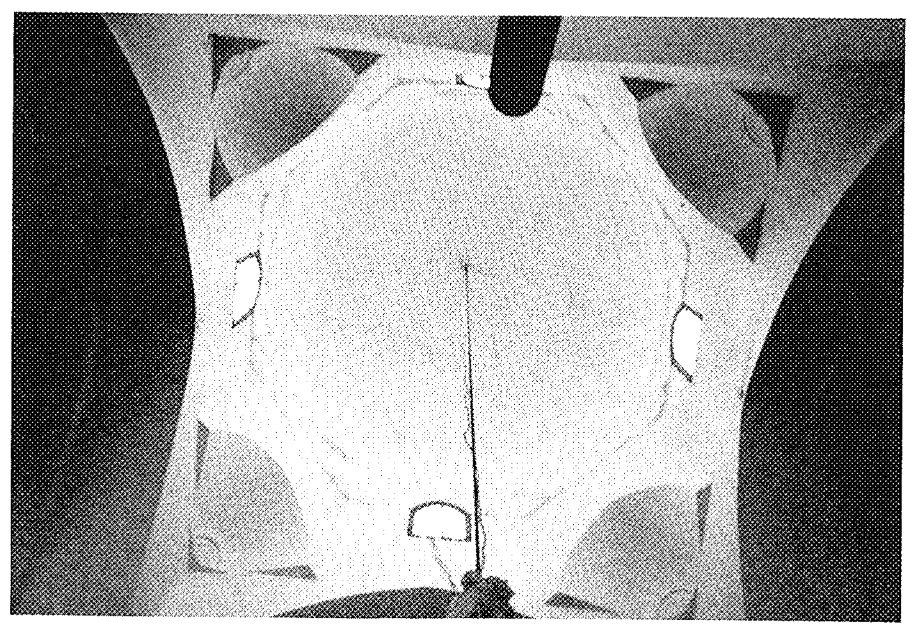


Figure 13. Great Mosque, dome over mihrab area.

they describe the minaret as "probably a bell-tower [which] has features of Lombardic art and can be dated to the 12/13th century" and then refer to it as "St. Mary's Lombard tower."[12] Lombard or not, the minaret of the Great Mosque may well have been a bell tower dating from before the Muslim conquest and later integrated into the structure with no particular religious connotation attached to it.

The Muslim origin of the main entrance to the mosque (fig. 7) has also been doubted because of its shape and decoration. The rectangular door is set in a portal of successive arches of alternating plain and zigzag carved stone moldings resting on two slender colonnettes of white marble and four narrow wall segments; the whole is preceded by an Arab cross-vaulted entryway. The question is whether the system of moldings above the door is an element brought by the Crusaders, as most writers claim,[13] or whether it is a Muslim work that simply shows the influence of the Crusader style. The Crusaders' source for the molding, known as a "chevron," "dogtooth," or "zigzag in relief," is indisputable; it is undoubtedly of Norman origin and made its appearance in the Fertile Crescent with the Crusaders, but the motif was early assimilated by the Muslims and used in the decoration of many monuments in Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Tripoli. The Muslim version, however, invariably consisted of one row of dogtooth or zigzag in various degrees of thickness. The Western type of successive molding that is seen on this gate is otherwise unknown in Muslim buildings.

Whatever doubts one may have about the origins of the doorway are removed by a closer look (fig. 8). A row of spiky quatrefoil rosettes in relief decorates the inner side of the arched entryway right behind the main entrance with the zigzag decoration. These rosettes are totally alien to the Muslim decorative vocabulary, and it would be difficult to think of a reason why a Muslim architect might invent them for a Muslim arch. On the other hand, identical rosettes are encountered in Western architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and are especially common in the Crusader architecture in Syria and Palestine. Friezes of four-petaled rosettes can be found in Norman architecture throughout Europe[14] and on some Norman buildings in the Holy

[12] By the Hachette World Guides, *The Middle East* (Paris, 1966), p. 185, and by Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 30–31, respectively.

[13] As, for example, van Berchem, de Vogüé, Guérin, and Condé in the works cited above, nn. 1, 10, and 11.

[14] Examples of identical rosettes are seen on the portal of Leczyca in Poland (C Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1925], 1:12); the jambs of the façade of the Church of Civrai at Poitou (Camille Martin, *L'art roman en France* [Paris, 1970], pls 63–64); the window of the ancient cathedral at Salamanca in Spain, framed by similar rosettes called by Speltz, "a Spanish romanesque ornament" (drawing no. 3, pl. 93, in Alexander Speltz, *The Styles of Ornament from Prehistoric Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, trans and ed. R.P. Spiers [2d ed , London, 1910])

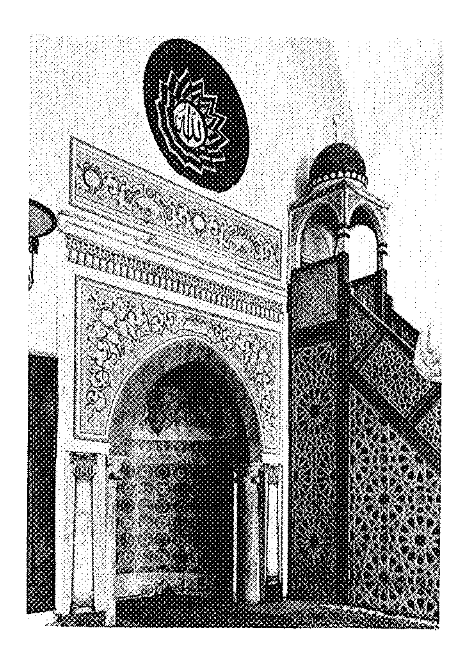


Figure 14. Great Mosque, axial mihrab and minbar.

Land. In Jerusalem, similar rosettes can be seen on two reused capitals at the al-Aqsa mosque, and in Galilee they frame the doorway of an early Christian church at Yārūn.[15] In Syria, the Logis du Maître at the Krac des Chevaliers has arches decorated with two kinds of rosettes in relief; those decorating the upper third of the arch are of the same four-pointed type as those in Tripoli.[16] Considering that the Krac belonged to the Frankish counts of Tripoli in the twelfth century and that for almost two centuries the Krac and Tripoli had been under Latin rule, the similarity of decorative elements is not surprising. The Abbey of Belmont, a Crusader construction only a few kilometers to the south of Tripoli, has a voussoir with similar four-pointed rosettes.[17] The Crusader origin of the entrance and the minaret therefore seems undeniable, but they are the only elements betraying Christian influence. The rest of the building is purely Muslim in plan and in style and owes nothing to earlier structures.

The plan of the Great Mosque (fig. 9) shows a traditional arrangement with a central courtyard, single porticoes on three sides, a deeper qiblah side for prayer, and a central fountain. In traditional fashion the

[15] Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, vol 1, fig. 353, pl. 114; C.R Conder and H H Kitchner, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, and Archaeology*, 3 vols (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881–83), vol. 1 (1881), p 258, drawing

[16] Paul Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte: Le Crac des Chevaliers* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, vol 19 [text], vol. 34 [plates]), vol 34, pl 62A

[17] Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, vol 1, pl. 66, fig 203.

mosque has three axial entrances set to the north, east, and west, but there are also two others on either side of the prayer hall.[18] Creswell regards the three axial entrances as a Syrian feature which started accidentally in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, became part of the Syrian arrangements (e.g., the mosque in Ḥarrān), and was then copied in other parts of the Muslim world (e.g., in Anatolia and in a number of Cairene mosques, including those of al-Ḥākim, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i, and Baybars I).[19]

A visitor entering the courtyard sees to the right of the main entrance two granite columns (fig. 10) springing from the pavement, remnants of classical times that were for some reason left standing. Like the two columns in front of Ṭaynāl's mosque and the two in front of the Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, they do not seem to have any practical or decorative function.

The courtyard which dominates the building (fig. 11) is enclosed by porticoes to the north, east, and west, and by the closed prayer area to the south. The porticoes display a rhythmic arrangement of identical low arches in the courtyard, and a continuous corridor-like area of simple cross-vaulting behind (fig. 12). These are the riwāqs built by al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1314, when he completed the mosque. The ablution fountain in the middle of the courtyard (figs. 9 and 11) consists of two adjoining square units, one of which is covered by a dome. When al-Nābulsī visited Tripoli in 1700, he described the fountain as "having a huge dome and pillars so large as to need four men to embrace them."[20]

The prayer hall (fig. 9) takes up the entire qiblah side of the building and consists of two aisles divided by six large piers to form fourteen areas, thirteen of them covered by simple cross-vaults, and the fourteenth, the area in front of the mihrab, by a small dome (fig. 13). The qiblah wall has three mihrabs — an axial main mihrab with a rosette set above it and one on either side — and a minbar (fig. 14).

The minbar is a wooden chair entirely covered with geometric carving. The painted rosette above the minbar (fig. 14) is clearly reused; the word "Allah" appears in its center and the same two motifs as were used inside and outside the main gate decorate the periphery. Four-pointed rosettes in relief run around the circumference of the roundel and a zigzag motif forms circles within. This decorative rosette, of the same style as the gate, must have belonged to the same Crusader church.

[18] The east and west entrances are not seen on the inaccurate plan, but they can be seen on Sobernheim's sketch of it, *Matériaux*, p 50, fig 7.

[19] K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (hereafter cited as *MAE*), 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–59), 1:101.

[20] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p. 72.

Since, like the door, it had no particular Christian iconographic or symbolic significance, it could be reused by Muslims as a mosque decoration. In any case the two Christian elements in no way detract from the traditional Muslim nature of this great royal mosque, the first building erected in Mamluk Tripoli.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 29-36; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, 25, pp. 48-61, Inscriptions 20-27; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p. 72; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 400–407; Sauvaget, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7:10; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 57-112; Unesco, no. 1, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 416-20.

MASJID ʿABD AL-WĀḤID

Built in AD 1305–6 by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Miknāsī (i.e., from Meknes, North Africa), also known as the Maghribī (i.e., the North African).

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, behind the Jeweler's Suq *(suq al-ṣāghah)* on an alley named after the founder of the mosque, Zuqāq Sidi ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 17.

History and Inscriptions

A small masjid rather than a large jamiʿ, the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid did not attract the attention of many travelers, so documentation is exceedingly scarce. Locally, however, it has its own tradition. After Tripoli was liberated from Christian rule, so the story goes, one of the many Muslims who visited there was ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maghribī, a pious Muslim from Meknes. At the khan where he stayed, he had a disagreement with the keeper. The owner of the khan was a Christian who was not very hospitable. Angry at the treatment he received, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, a pious and wealthy man, offered to buy the inn. The Christian agreed and brought a large tray, demanding he fill it with money. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid did so, became the owner of the building, and immediately had it transformed into a mosque. The story comes in many versions (according to another, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid had to save up his money before he could buy out the innkeeper);[21] though none can be documented from a con-

[21] Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 77–80, identifies ʿAbd al-Wāḥid as one of the preachers who flocked to Tripoli during the busy period of its Muslim reconstruction and who had a reputation for holiness and attracted many disciples; but Condé gives no source for that information. The story of the khan keeper is also reported by Samīḥ Wajīh al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus Qadīman wa Ḥadīthan* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1969), pp. 420–22.

temporary source, both the founding inscription and the shape and character of the building itself make it a plausible story.

The inscription, which was originally on a fountain in the courtyard, was removed during recent renovations and reapplied to the wall of the prayer hall (fig. 15). It reads as follows:[22]

انشا• هذا المكان المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى عبد الواحد المكناسى غفر اللـــه
له ولوالديه ومن كان السبب فيه للمسلمين فى تاريخ سنة خمس وسبعمائة .

> This blessed place was built by God's humble servant ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Miknāsī, may God forgive him, his parents, and whoever was the cause of it [its construction] for the Muslims, in the year seven hundred and five [A D. 1305].

Apart from giving us the name and date of the donor, the inscription also unveils another fact in its phrase asking forgiveness for "whoever was the cause of it," i.e., the building's construction. This may well be a reference to the khan keeper who, according to legend, was indirectly instrumental in the building's being transformed into a mosque and who in that way benefited the Muslims. Further substantiating the legend are the building's clear signs of remodeling and alteration, and its waqf's stipulation that shelter be provided for ʿAbd al-Wāḥid's fellow North Africans, a provision that is still in force six hundred years later. Although the waqf document itself no longer exists, its contents have been transmitted by word of mouth and are accepted as valid by all.

Description

From the outside the mosque is completely integrated into its surroundings and is hardly distinguishable from the buildings around it; it has two domes, but neither can be seen from a distance. It does not have an elaborate façade and is entered through a small, inconspicuous, modern door which leads to the mosque proper and to the living quarters that occupy the second floor on the left side of the building. These are the rooms which, according to the waqf, are used to shelter North Africans.

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[22] First published by Sobernheim (*Matériaux*, p. 85, Inscription no 38) after a reading by M Yannī. Later revised by N. Elisséef who correctly read the last line للمسلمين instead of Yannī's ذلك See Sauvaget, "Notes sur quelques inscriptions arabes" (cited above, n 4), p 11. The inscription can also be found in E Combe et al., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vols. 11–15 [Cairo, 1941–56]), 13:263; al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām fi al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967), p 407, and al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 421.

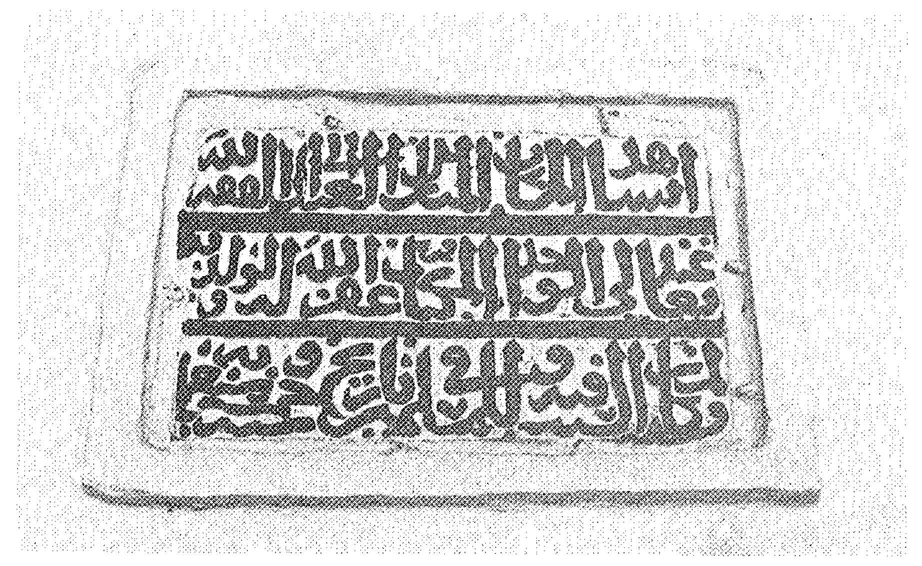


Figure 15. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, founding inscription.

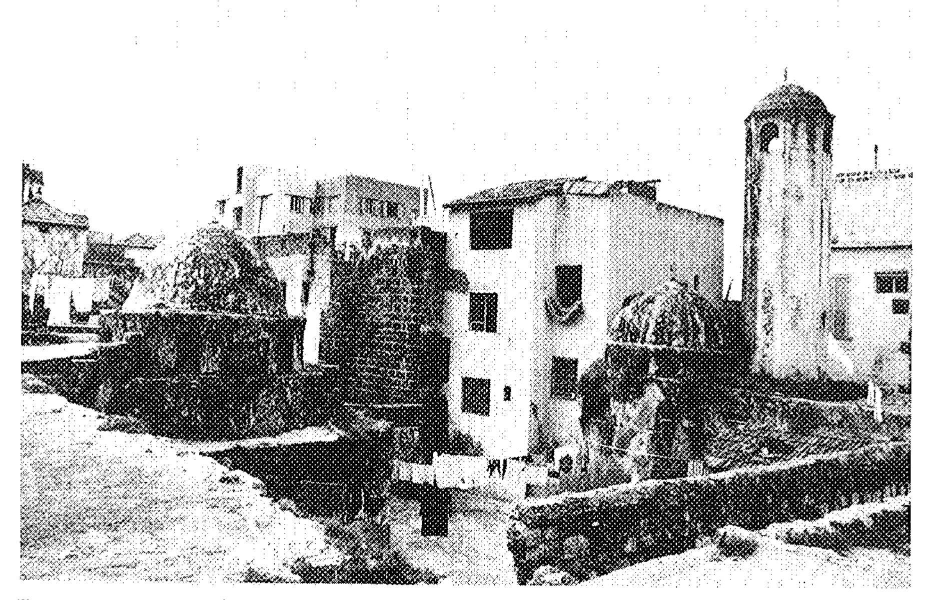


Figure 16. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, general view.

The minaret is small and not easily seen from without; it consists of a simple octagonal shaft (figs. 16 and 19) open at the top by windows on each of its eight sides. Five of these windows are still open; the other three were at some point blocked. Through the open windows a column can be seen with a capital in the middle of its shaft. The minaret is topped by an equally plain half-dome with a stone crescent. Simple, yet powerful, the ʿAbd al-Wāḥid minaret is very different from other Tripoli minarets, and even other Mamluk minarets throughout the Fertile Crescent. An octagonal tower of the same size and shape, with the same dome and upper windows, can, however, be found in the Crusaders' Church of Ṭarṭūs (Tortosa),[23] a Romanesque structure of the twelfth century with a Gothic façade of the thirteenth, which had been taken over by the Arabs in 1291, but not transformed into a mosque until 1851. The tower/minaret looks incongruous beside the earlier structure and was obviously added. While otherwise unparalleled in the Mamluk world, then, the simple octagonal minaret of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid does have at least one close companion in this undated Ṭarṭūs minaret some two hundred kilometers to the north.

It is regrettable that no floor plan of the mosque is available, but a description of the building combined with photographs should at least make its major characteristics clear. It is a squarish structure built around a central courtyard (fig. 16), but unlike most mosques with a courtyard, it is built on two levels (fig. 17), with a lower floor of thick, low vaulting, and an upper floor of rooms behind a gallery of arches. This plan and its constituent elements are undeniably typical, not of mosques, but rather of caravanserais or khans, which were located within the city, were oblong in shape, had a simple exterior, and were built on two levels — the lower one a low-vaulted area for animals and merchandise, and the upper one a series of rooms for travelers. The layout of the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, then, also substantiates its legendary origins, all the more so because the elements that make the building a mosque — the expanded prayer hall, the ablution area, the mihrab, the raised dome, and the side minaret — are clearly later additions to, or transformations of, the original structure.

The qiblah side now has only one level, the second having been removed at some point. It consists of a prayer area that has been expanded into the original courtyard, reducing the latter to an open rectangular passageway. The three other sides are on two levels and have dwellings upstairs behind the gallery (fig. 17). The prayer hall proper is a rectangle of about 16 by 6 meters divided into six vaulted areas by two

[23] W Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders* (New York, 1966), pl 34.

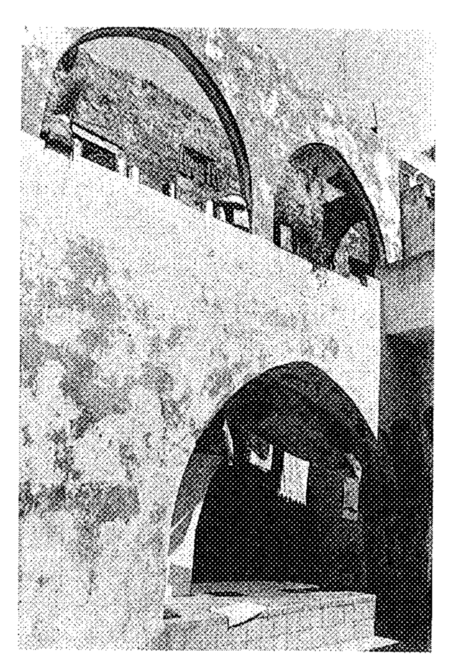


Figure 17. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, arcading on courtyard

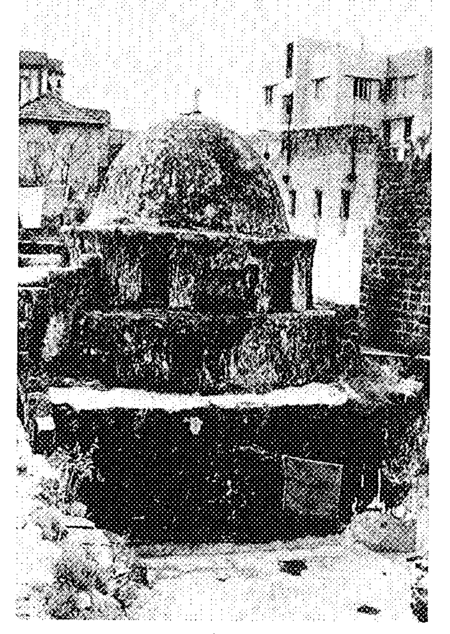


Figure 18. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, dome over mihrab

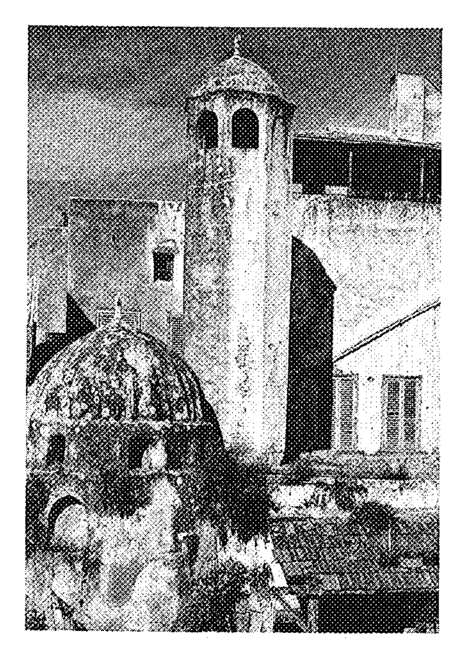


Figure 19. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, minaret and dome over tomb chamber.

heavy piers, approximately 2 by 2 meters each. The ceiling is very low owing to the massive vaulting, except for the area above the mihrab where it has been raised and covered by a dome (fig. 18). The mihrab, with its modern ribbing, has clearly been added to an earlier building, inasmuch as it is set at an angle to the qiblah wall. Had the original structure been conceived as a mosque, it would have certainly been possible in 1305 to orient the building properly, and there would have been no need to build the mihrab askew.

The dome over the mihrab can best be seen from the outside (fig. 18). It is a simple, plain dome resting on an eight-sided and sixteen-sided double drum over a square area. The dome is fairly conventional but nonetheless interesting on two counts. First, the vaulting in the prayer hall eliminated the square room or square open space over which a dome is normally set, so a square area had to be built over the roof for the dome to rest on, adding an extra level to the dome's exterior. Second, the drums or zones of transition are not clearly octagonal or sixteen-sided, but look more like circles. These areas are also not straight, but flare upward, wider at the top than at the bottom.

The tomb chamber, covered by a ribbed dome and set by the entrance on the right, is a square room with a high ceiling and a tomb in the middle. The tomb is that of a descendant of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, named ʿAbd al-Salām al-Maghribī al-Mashīshī, who — judging by the candles and wreaths which continue to decorate it even today — must be a local saint.[24]

The particular interest of this tomb chamber lies in its dome. From the exterior (fig. 19) a ribbed dome can be seen carrying a stone crescent and resting on the eight-sided and sixteen-sided double drum, with openings on alternate sides, resting on a square. As in the dome over the mihrab, it gives the impression of a pile of elements, which over time has turned into a gray-and-green moss-covered mound. From the interior, however, the dome is more clearly defined (fig. 20). It has on its lowest level an octagonal zone consisting of two blind niches, two open niches, and four corner squinches, all of the same size and height. The squinches are simple, high, concave niches of the Damascus type.[25] Above this dome is a ten-sided zone that alternates two blind niches with one open one, topped by a sixteen-sided zone of small arches. These three zones are crowned by a narrowly ribbed dome, which is

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24 ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār Masājid wa Madāris Ṭarāblus fi ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Tripoli: Dār al-Bilād, 1974), p 156

25 Sauvaget discusses the major difference between the architecture of Aleppo and Damascus, including the squinch, in "Architecture musulmane de Syrie," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 8 (1934): 37–41

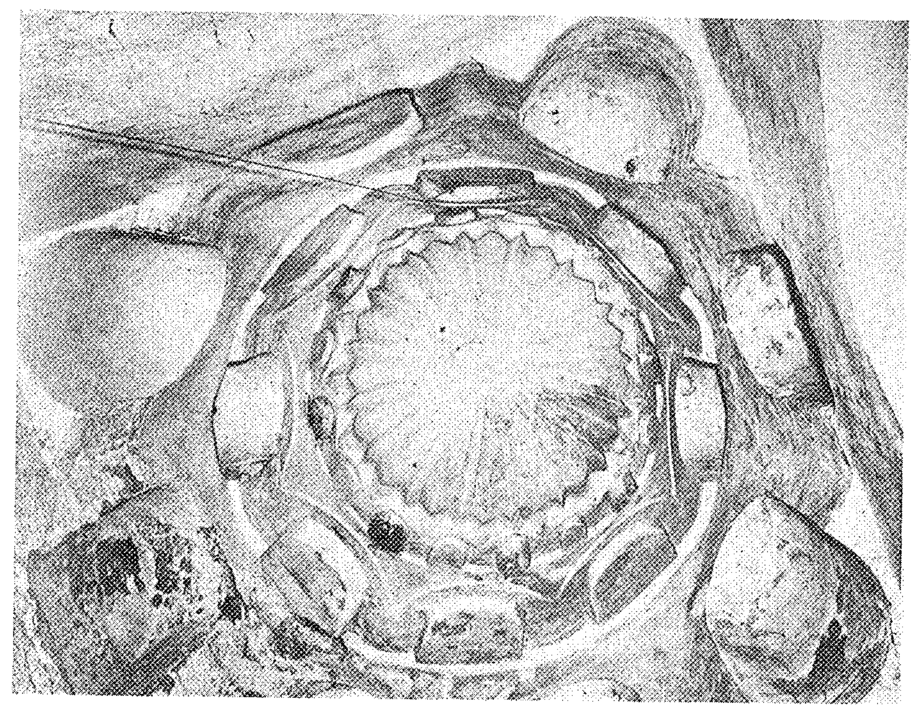


Figure 20. Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, interior of dome over tomb chamber.

extremely well built and whose elements are very clearly defined. Alternating broad and narrow, crisp, sharp edges form a very effective star pattern.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 77–80; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, 25, pp. 85 ff., Inscription 38; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 407; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 156; Unesco, no. 5, p. 12, and photograph of dome; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 420–21.

MADRASAH-MOSQUE OF AL-BURṬĀSĪ

Built before AD 1324 by ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar al-Burṭāsī.

Location

On the left bank of the Qadisha River to the northeast of the Citadel, between the Suwayqah and the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 19.

History and Inscriptions

The Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī carries an inscription on its main gate which gives us the name of its founder and the purpose of its erection. The date of construction is not given, but the information it does provide permits us to infer a more accurate date than the estimate of sometime before 1381 usually given in the literature. A line of naskh running above the door along the inner sides of the gateway (figs. 25 and 26) reads as follows:[26]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اوقف هذه المدرسة المباركة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى : عيسى
بن عمر البرطاسي عفا الله عنه على المشتغلين بالعلم الشريف على مذهب الامام الشافعي
واقامة الجمع والصلوات المكتوبة . وشرط ان لا يرسم فيها على احد ولا يسكنه من لا له
(الحق في ذلك) .

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the pious servant of God, ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar al-Burṭāsī, has founded this blessed madrasah, may God forgive him, for the benefit of those working in the noble science according to the rite of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, and for the holding of gatherings and prescribed [i.e., Friday] prayers. And [the founder] has stipulated that no wage may be given nor lodging provided except for those entitled to it.[27]

Since the building is clearly identified as a madrasah for the followers of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, but a madrasah where Friday prayer is also to take place, its dual function has led to confusion whenever the building is mentioned. Sometimes it is referred to as the "Burṭāsiyyah Madrasah," sometimes as the "Jamiʿ al-Burṭāsī," or even the "Jamiʿ al-Burṭāsiyyah,"[28] giving an ending to the name that belongs to a madrasah and not to a mosque. Apparently over time its function actually shifted from madrasah to mosque. The earliest sources such as al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥajar state that al-Burṭāsī built a "madrasah for the Shāfiʿiyyah" in Tripoli;[29] by 1634 al-ʿUṭayfī talks about a "jamiʿ known as the Burṭāsiyyah,"[30] and in 1700 al-Nābulsī lists the "Jamiʿ al-Burṭāsiyyah" as the sixth in importance of the twelve mosques where Friday prayer was held.[31] Today the building is unmistakably a mosque.

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26 Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 138, Inscription no 63.

27 Ibid Sobernheim notes that the stipulation providing salary and lodging only to those entitled to it is identical with that found on the Mosque of Ṭaynāl (Inscription no. 41).

28 Some imprecision in functional and architectural terminology is frequent in the architecture of Egypt, Anatolia, and Iran For the case of the Mosque-Madrasah of Qaytbây in Cairo, for example, see Oleg Grabar, "The Inscriptions of the Madrasah-Mausoleum of Qaytbay," *Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. Kouyoumijian (Beirut: American University, 1974), p 466.

29 Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-Qaṣr* and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, both cited in Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 208.

30 Al-ʿUṭayfī, *Journey to Lebanon* [Riḥlah ilā Ṭarāblus al-Shām], ed Stefan Wild (Beirut, 1970), p. 221

31 Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p. 72.



Figure 21. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, view before 1955.

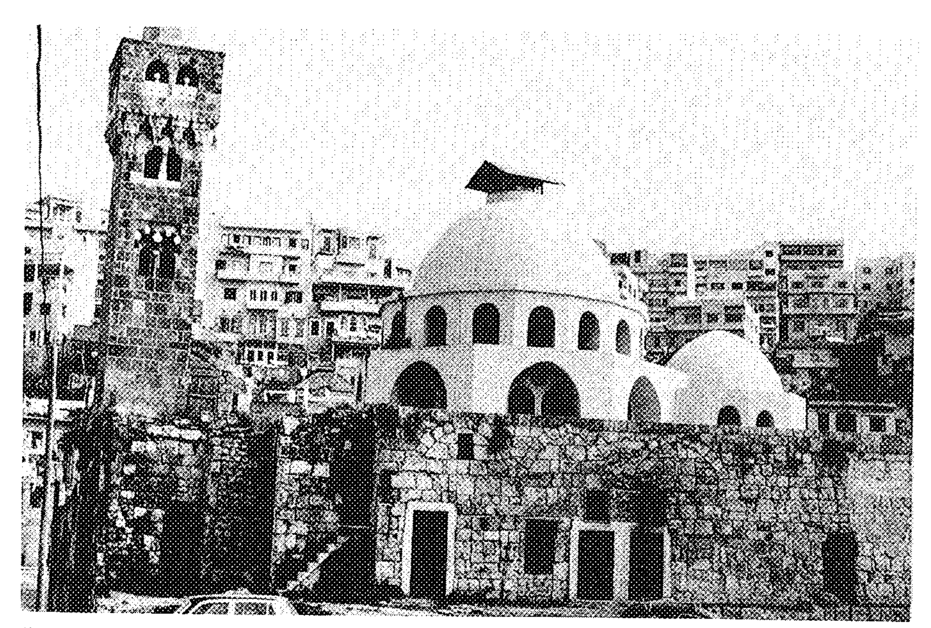


Figure 22. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, profile after flood.

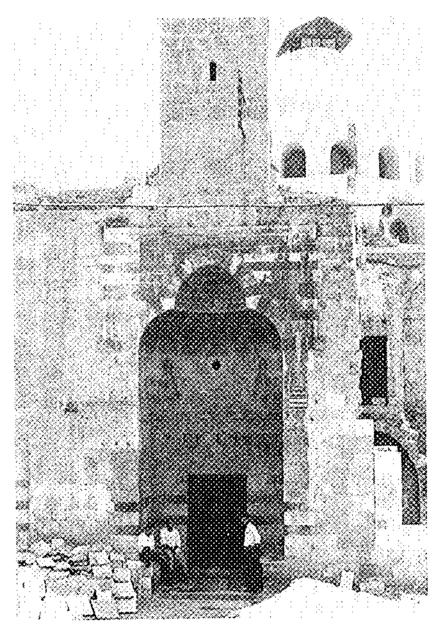


Figure 23. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭâsī, portal

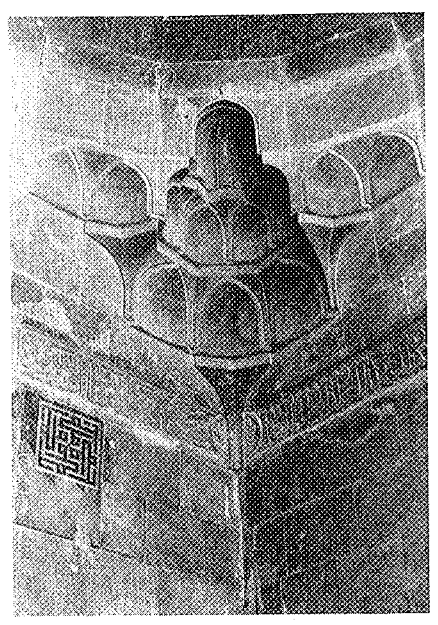


Figure 24. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭâsī, portal, muqarnas squinch and founding inscription.

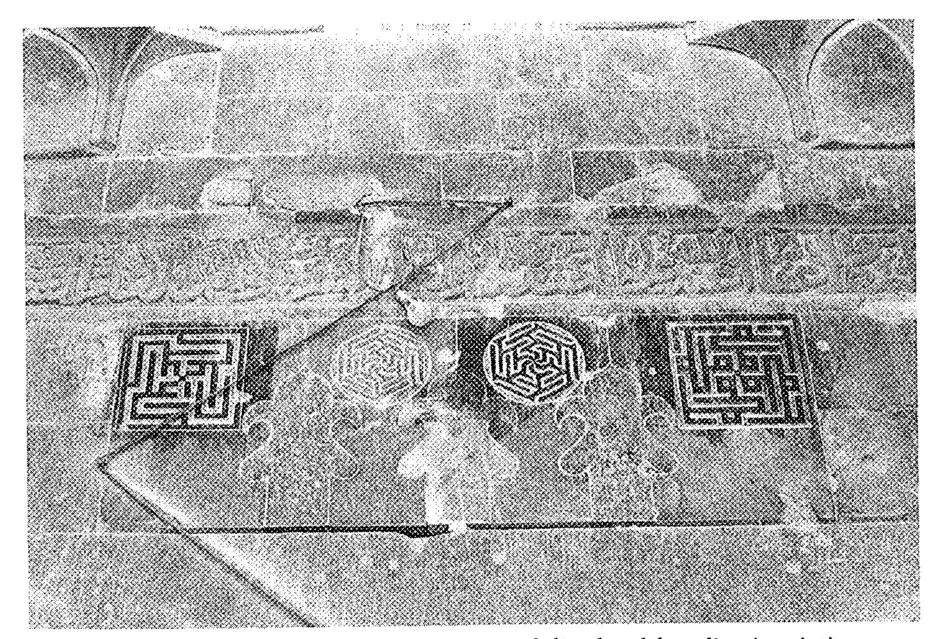


Figure 25. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭâsī, portal, lintel and founding inscription.

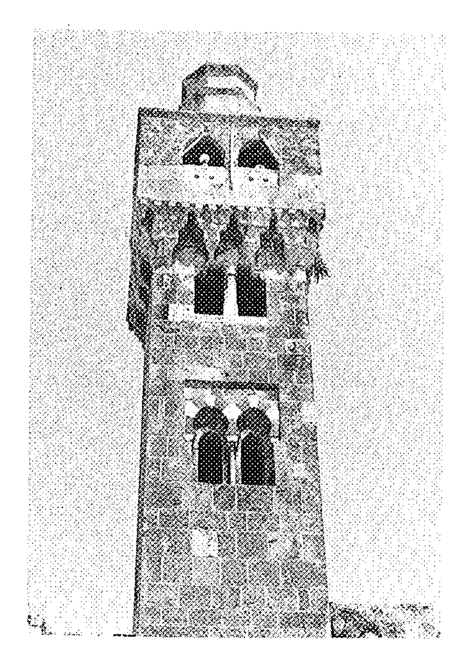


Figure 26. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, minaret.

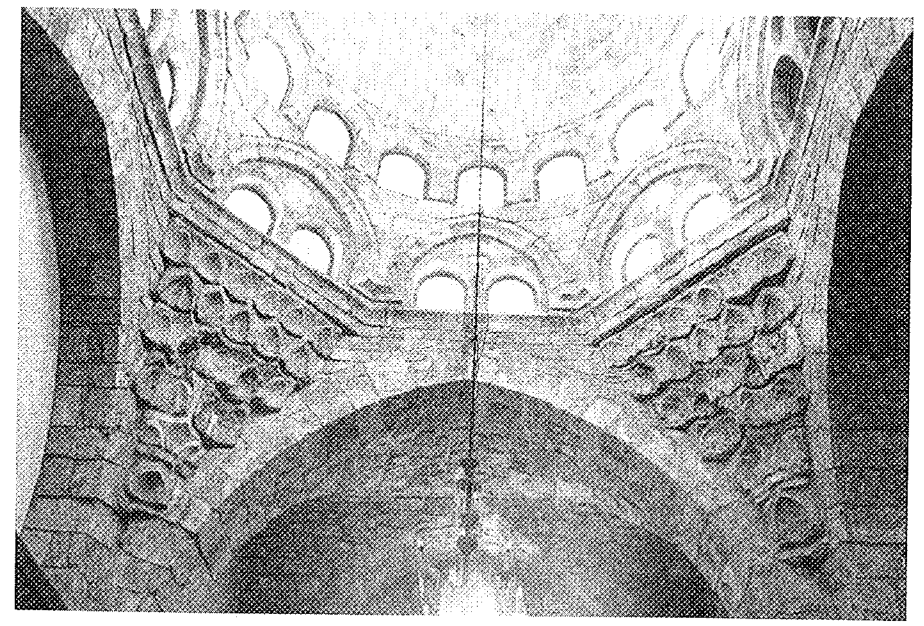


Figure 27. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, central dome, zone of transition.

The inscription identifies the founder as ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar al-Burṭāsī, and the literature provides us with his full name, ʿIsā ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿIsā, al-Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Burṭāsī al-Kurdī, his date of birth, A.H. 665, and his death, the 15th of Ramadan A.H 725 (A D 1324) in Tripoli.[32] This allows us to date the Burṭāsiyyah to between 1290 and 1324 which is at least more accurate than the so far accepted date of "before 1381," based on Sobernheim's attribution of the style of the inscription to the Baḥrī Mamluk period.[33]

Description

Until 1955 the Burṭāsiyyah was completely surrounded by dwellings (fig. 21), but in that year a flood swept them away and it now stands alone, the only remaining structure on the river bank (fig. 22). A massive oblong building of sandstone, its three outstanding features are an imposing portal, an elaborate minaret, and three well-defined domes.

The portal (fig. 23) is set in the middle of the façade wall, which is damaged but still has remnants of two windows, one on either side of the portal, and two rows of black stone set for decoration along the wall's lower level. The portal, surrounded by a frieze of stone molding, rises to the full height of the building and consists of a trilobed opening on a wall of striped black and white masonry. These trilobed arches reflect the influence of the Crusader architecture adapted by the Muslims, the best example and closest parallel to al-Burṭāsī being the arch over the entrance door of the khanqah of Ṣalāh al-Dīn in Jerusalem.[34] Other examples can be seen in Cairo (on the main entrance to the mausoleum of the Sabʿ Banāt, mid-fifteenth century; and in the Mamluk cemetery) and in Damascus (the arch on the façade of Jamiʿ al-Tawrīzī, 1420).[35] Tripoli's khanqah also has a variation of the three-lobed arch on its main entrance.

Crisp and impressive in its solidity and purity of line, this trilobed arch frames a simple interior: a plain rectangular door, corner muqarnas squinches (fig. 24) instead of the more common overall muqarnas hood, and, between the two, the band of inscription and a decorative rectangular plaque above the lintel (fig. 25). The plaque contains two square motifs in the corners and two circular motifs between them, separated

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32 Ibn Ḥajar and al-Ṣafadī, see Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 208

33 Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 138.

34 Several other examples of trilobed arches can be seen on Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem See Michael H. Burgoyne, "Some Mamluke Doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem," *Levant* 3 (1971): 1–30; Madrasah Muẓhiriyya, elevation 1, p. 21; unknown soup kitchen, elevation 1, p 18; doorway in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, pl. 20b

35 C Wultzinger and K Waltzinger, *Damaskus, die Islamische Stadt* (Berlin, 1924), pl. 27.

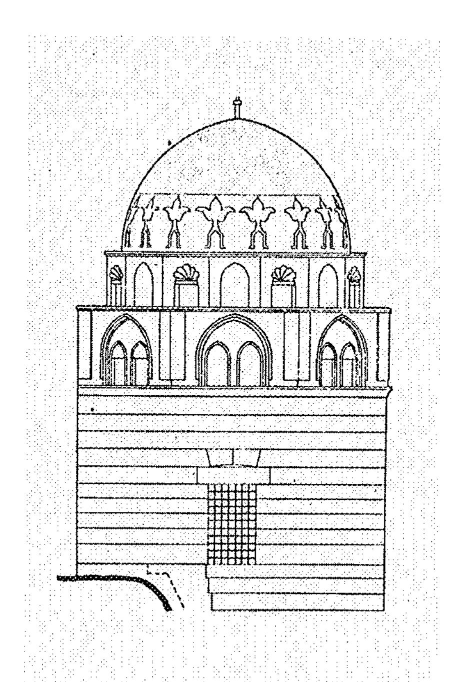


Figure 28. Damascus, Madrasah ʿIzziyyah, A D 1224 After *Monuments Ayyubides de Damas* Vol. I, p 28

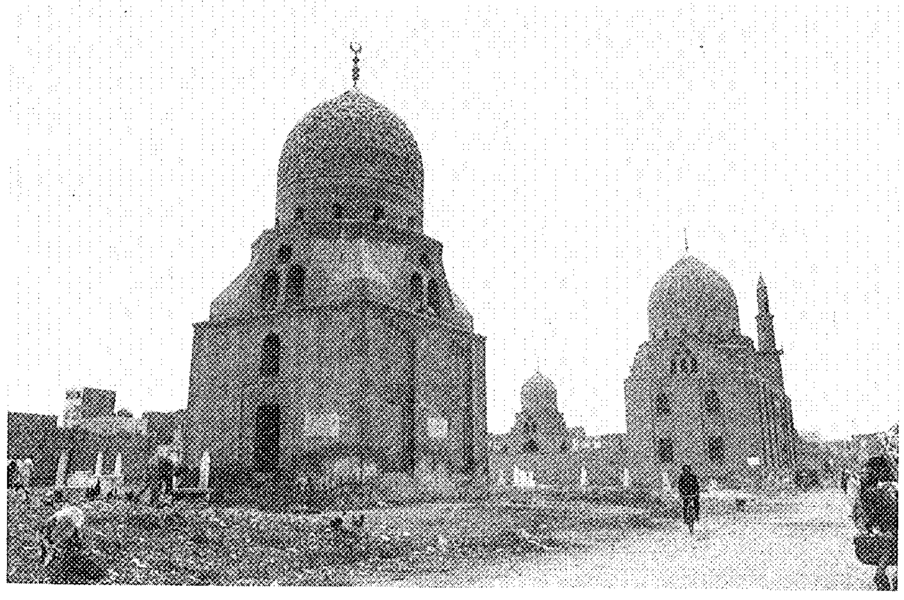


Figure 29. Cairo, Mamluk cemetery

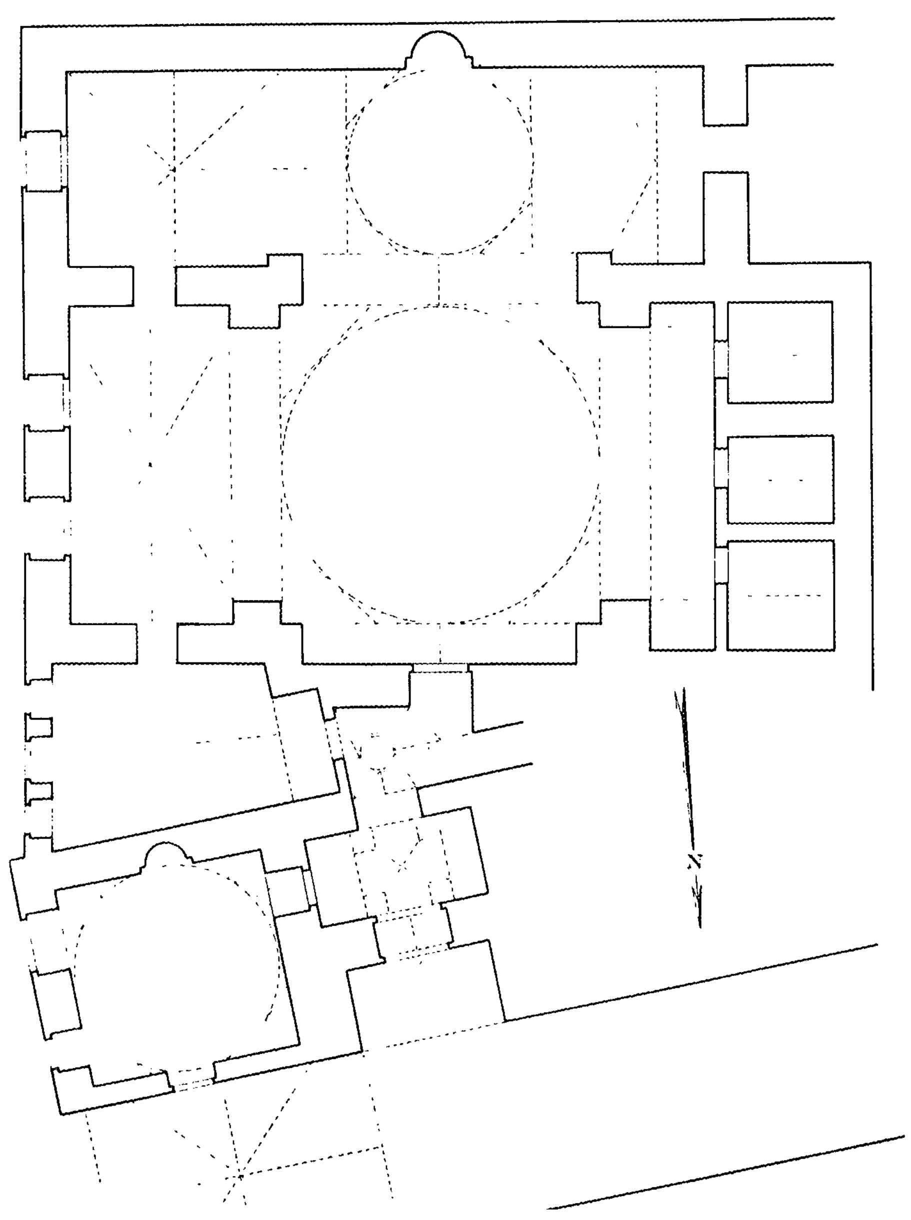


Figure 30. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, plan.

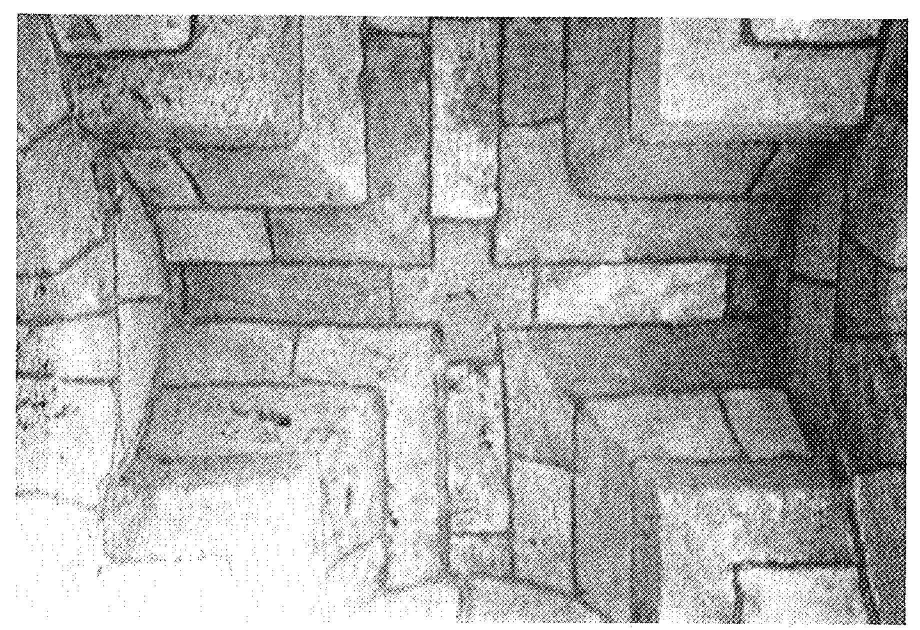


Figure 31. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, cross-vault in entrance corridor.

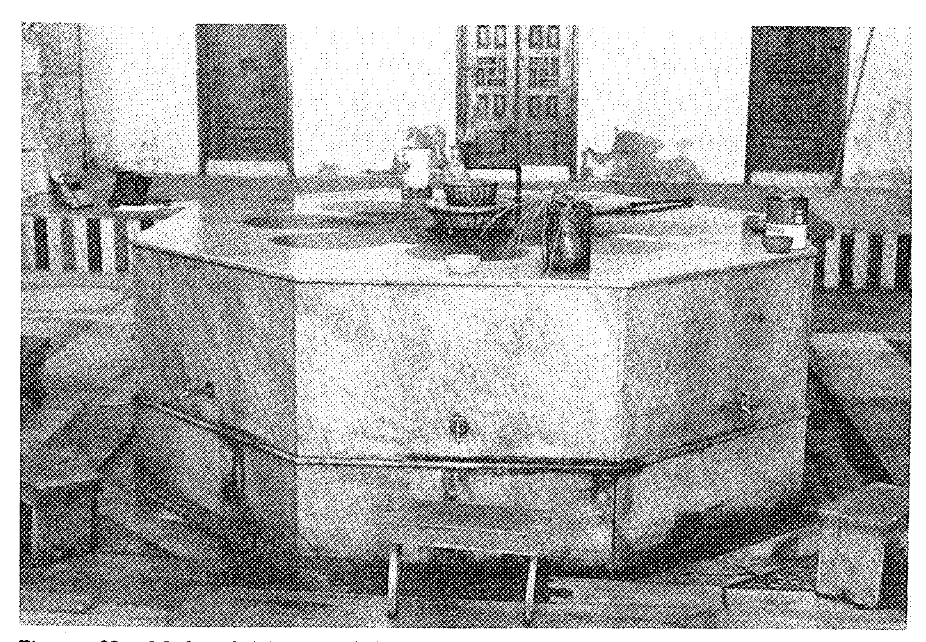


Figure 32. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, fountain.

by three vertical modified fleurs-de-lys. The two corner motifs have, respectively, the names of ʿAlī and Muḥammad arranged in a swastika, with the initial letter set at the center and the rest of the name written in the four arms of the cross. The revolving effect is further emphasized by two meaningless whirling motifs. This use of the Prophet's name in a revolving decoration is common throughout the Muslim world. It can be seen, for example, on either side of the mihrab of 1325 in the mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn al-Yūsufī in Cairo, which was built around the same time as the Burṭāsiyyah.[36]

The minaret stands directly above the portal and is commonly regarded as the most beautiful minaret in Tripoli (fig. 26). A square shaft of sandstone carries a square room resting on a three-tiered band of muqarnas interrupted to form positive triangles in relief and negative triangles in recess. The room is surmounted by two polygonal shafts ending in a simple dome. Sets of double windows with a central column decorate it at three levels. The top windows are rounded; the middle windows are rectangular and follow the lines of the muqarnas at their top. Both sets are of a common type, which can be seen on several minarets in Tripoli itself, including those of the Great Mosque and the Mosque of al-ʿAṭṭār. The third set is very different and much more interesting, however; it has rightly been compared with Moorish double arches on a column.[37] Two slightly pointed horseshoe arches with alternating black and white stone rest on a central slender column with a capital; the whole set is recessed into the wall. Such windows, or double arches with a column that are used as windows, are typical of Muslim Spain, but are not normally encountered elsewhere in the Muslim world. The best-known examples are from Cordoba (blind double arches with alternate stones on the north portal of the Great Mosque built by al-Hakam II [961-76], and other windows on the external walls),[38] from Toledo (windows on the Parochial Church of Santiago del Arrabal, thirteenth century), from the Alhambra in Granada (where twin windows with a central column abound — on gates, on courtyards, on the mosque), and from the Church of San Salvator in Valdenios. Outside Spain, this type of window can be seen wherever Spanish influence was strong, as in fourteenth-century Sicily where an excellent example is on

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[36] Creswell, *MAE*, vol 2, pl 114

[37] Both Salem and Tadmurī talk about the Spanish character of the windows, but without giving any comparisons or references

[38] Albert F. Calvert, *Moorish Remains in Spain* (London, 1907), pp 45 and 217; idem, *Cordova, a City of the Moors* (London, 1907), pl 116; idem, *Toledo, "The City of Generations"* (London, 1907), pls. 381 and 384; idem, *Granada and the Alhambra* (London, 1907), pls. 166 and 128 for the mosque; pl 139 for the Hall of the Ambassadors, and pl. 100 for the Wine Gate; Alexander Speltz, *The Styles of Ornament* (London, 1910), pl. 69, figs. 5 and 6

the lower level of the palace of the duke of St. Stefona at Taormina,[39] and in Cairo, where a Spanish type of double window is to be seen on the base of the minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn reconstructed by Lagīn in 1296.[40]

The domes are a third feature distinguishable from the outside of the Burṭāsiyyah (fig. 22). Two domes, one over the mihrab and the other over the tomb chamber, are well built and of the common type comprising a cupola on a drum. The central dome, however, stands out by its size and its zone of transition. Below a sixteen-sided zone opened by sixteen arched windows is an octagonal zone with eight recessed arches containing three lights each: two round windows separated by a wall segment and topped by an oculus (figs. 22 and 27). Exact parallels to this use of three lights within an arch are virtually unknown in Syria or Egypt; consistent use of one aspect of this architectural element can be found there, but not the whole composition. In Syria, for instance, Ayyubid architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows a typical superstructure, especially prominent in mausoleums, of a dome resting on a sixteen-sided zone, opened by sixteen arched windows, or, more often, alternating open and blind windows, over an octagonal zone consisting of eight pointed and recessed arches containing two arched windows separated by a wall segment (fig. 28). This is exactly the arrangement in the Burṭāsiyyah, except that the arches of the Damascus octagonal zone have no oculus above the two windows. A few examples of this standard Ayyubid transition are to be seen in Damascus in the twelfth-century anonymous mausoleum of Daḥdāh, the mausoleums of Farūkh Shāh (1183) and Bahram Shāh (1230), and in the madrasahs Rukniyyah (1224) and Māridāniyyah (1227), both in the suburb of Ṣāliḥiyyah.[41]

While two lights in an arch are common in Ayyubid Damascus, three lights without the arch are more common in Mamluk Cairo. The same two arched windows separated by a wall segment and topped by an oculus in the same relationship and arrangement as in the Burṭāsiyyah are often found there, especially on the zone of transition in mausoleums. However, the Cairo arrangement is always set on the wall without the framing of an arch and almost always on the four walls above the

[39] Giulio Arata, *Architettura arabo-normanna e il rinascimento in Sicilia* (Milan, 1925), pl. 99, shows a pair of windows of the same style, proportions, and relationship of parts, the same arrangment of masonry around the arch, and the same pointed round shape of the arch as in the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī

[40] A. Fattal, *La Mosquée d'Ibn-Tulun* (Cairo, 1968), pp 38–39 and pls 75–76

[41] Jean Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), illustration 19, p 59; illustration 41, p. 99; Institut Français de Damas, *Les monuments ayyubides de Damas*, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1928), 1:28, illustration 12; Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus, Studies in Architecture III," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1945): 1–71, pl. 25, elevation and section

square between the triangular corners. Mausoleums in the Mamluk cemetery (fig. 29),[42] the mausoleum across the street from the Madrasah of Umm Shaʿbān, and the mausoleum of Sunqūr Saʿdī (1315) are examples of the Cairene arrangement. What was a simple idea of a window and three openings is multiplied in Cairo and used decoratively in combination with three arches and three oculi, as in the convent of Barqūq (1385) and the mausoleum of the Sabʿ Banāt (mid-fifteenth century), and even in a superlative combination of four arches and six lights on the façade of the palace of Yashbak (1337), also known as Ḥosh Bardaq.[43] Except for a single and unusual instance in the Mosque of Aqsunqūr (1346–47),[44] we do not see three openings within an arch in Cairo. Sicily, on the other hand, provides several examples of the complete element of three openings within an arch in monuments ranging in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Included among them are the tower of the Cathedral of Santa Maria la Nuova in Monreale (twelfth century), the tower of the Church of Santa Maria di l'Amiral in Palermo (first half of the twelfth century), and the Palazzo del Duca di St. Stefano in Taormina (fourteenth century).[45]

The plan (fig. 30) of the Burṭāsiyyah shows a well-defined three-iwan madrasah type with a covered courtyard, preceded by a side tomb chamber and a complex entrance corridor. The tomb chamber, where the founder is buried, is a square room containing a simple mihrab with a ribbed top opening to the outside by three windows and covered by a simple dome resting on an eight-sided zone of arched windows set over very simple corner squinches.

The corridor which leads from the portal to the madrasah proper is basically two successive rooms, the first covered by a cross-vault with a central cross-shaped keystone (fig. 31) and the second by a concave vault meeting in a central rosette, a type of vaulting frequently encountered in Tripoli.

The central, covered courtyard is about 60 centimeters lower than the surrounding iwans. It has an octagonal marble fountain in its middle (fig. 32) with an eight-lobed rosette inside. The floor surrounding the fountain is of rectangular and square units of white marble surrounded by alternating borders of plain colored marble and polychrome marble mosaic. As if to frame this inner room of marble, the short wall segment

[42] See panorama of northern cemetery in Christel Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (London: Art and Archaeology Research Papers, 1976), p. 25.

[43] Creswell, Photos III, Ashmolean, Oxford, no. 33

[44] Creswell, Photos III, Ashmolean, Oxford, nos 47–48

[45] Arata, *Architettura arabo-normanna*, frontispiece, illustration, p. 9, and pls. 37 and 141; pl. 1; illustration, p 20

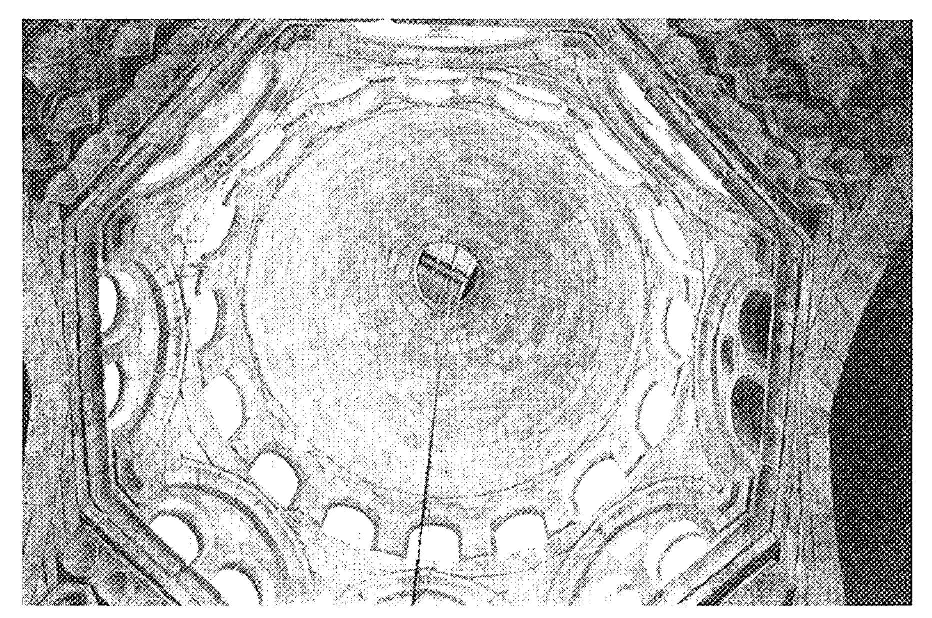


Figure 33. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭâsî, central dome, interior.

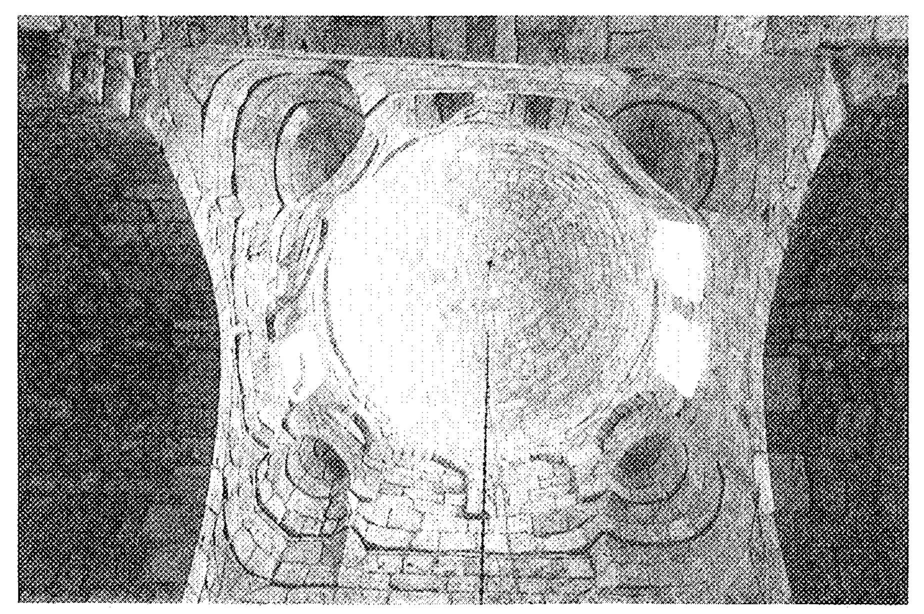


Figure 34. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭâsî, dome over mihrab area, interior.

separating the floor from the adjoining iwan floors is also covered with marble in vertically striped bands of black, red, and white. The effect created by the light pouring in from the many windows so impressed al-ʿUṭayfī during his visit to Tripoli in 1634 that he spent many hours admiring it, and he describes it in glowing terms.[46]

The central area is covered by the large dome (fig. 33) which is a perfect reflection of the exterior and admits generous amounts of light into the mosque from its numerous openings. The dome rests on four muqarnas pendentives (fig. 27) of the type attributed by Sauvaget to Aleppo.[47] These muqarnas pendentives are most common in Aleppo and elsewhere in northern Syria but can also be found in Damascus (in the Madrasah ʿAdiliyyah [1222] and the mausoleum of Yashbak in the Maydān [1377])[48] and in Cairo (in the mausoleum of Barqūq [1384–86],[49] the mausoleum of Yulgay al-Yūsufī [1373], and the mausoleum of Sabʿ Banāt in the Mamluk cemetery [mid-fifteenth century]) (fig. 189).

The two iwans, to the east and to the west, are simple rectangular halls with simple vaulting. The western wall is opened by three doors leading to three small rooms, probably meant for students, and the eastern wall, which is right above the river, is opened by an organized system of windows (fig. 35) which further increases the amount of light pouring into the building.

The third iwan, on the qiblah side, as is often the case, extends the width of the building and is used as the prayer hall for the madrasah. The qiblah wall is entirely lined with marble at its lower level (fig. 36), with the mihrab in its center. As in the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, the marble paneling consists of vertical bands of red, white, and black marble interrupted by rectangular and square plaques and topped by small niches. The motif on the square plaque (fig. 37) is also seen on the Qarṭāwiyyah qiblah wall and is an intricate, bold motif common to the Mamluk vocabulary.

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[46] Al-ʿUṭayfī, *Journey to Lebanon*, pp. 221–22; also in Tadmurī, p 212:

وبها جامع يقال له البرطاسية ، من بابه الى محرابه مفروش بالرخام المنوع الذى يدهش الابصار ويحير الافكار . وكذلك حيطانه وبه من الرخام الملون مايشبه النجوم والعقد المنظوم فاذا طلعت الشمس ارخى ذلك الزجاج شعاعه على ذلك الرخام المنقوش فيصير لذلك مراى عجيب واسلوب غريب . وبه بركة ماء مفصصه بانواع الرخام الملون كنت اكثر الجلوس به لمشاهده المحاسن .

[47] Jean Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 8 (1934): 37–41.

[48] Institut Français de Damas, *Monuments ayyubides*, vol 2, p 83, photo pl. 19, nos 2 and 3; Sauvaget, *Monuments de Damas*, p 74, drawing.

[49] Creswell, Photos IV, Ashmolean, Oxford, no 13.

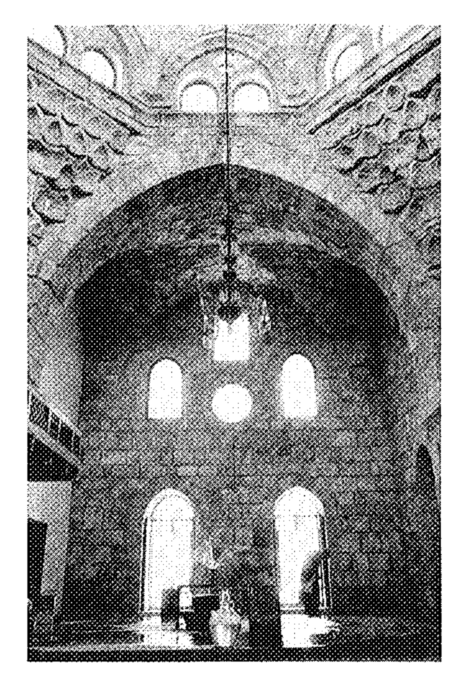


Figure 35. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, eastern wall

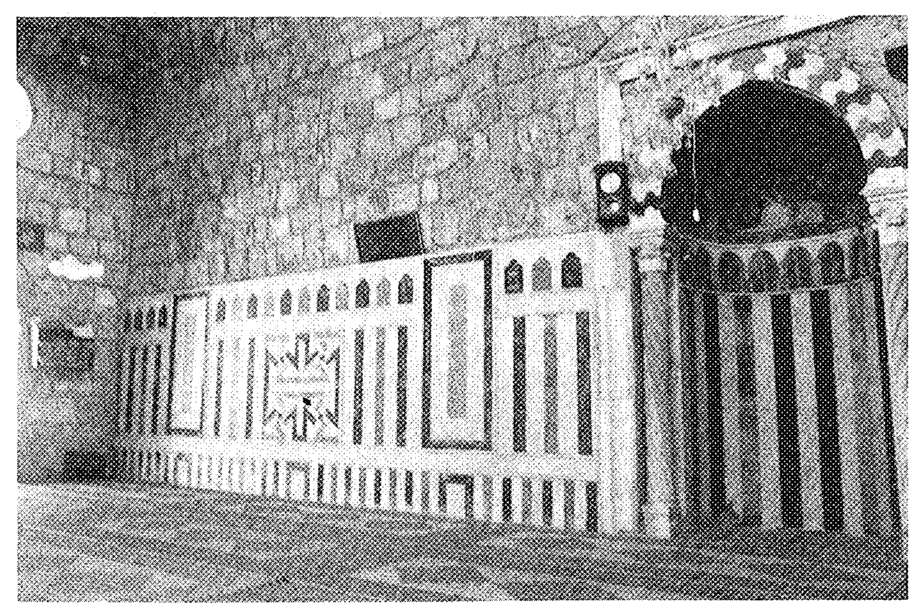


Figure 36. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, qiblah wall.

The mihrab, which follows the lines of the wall with vertical polychrome marble paneling topped by niches, is flanked by two twisted marble columns joined by an arch of joggled polychrome marble voussoirs. The mihrab's half-dome is entirely lined with glass mosaic, representing acanthus leaves springing from a footed bowl in black and green on a gold background (fig. 38). In contrast with the exceedingly popular marble mihrabs showing various degrees of complexity and exuberance, mosaic mihrabs and mosaic decoration are rare in the Muslim world. Creswell, in one of his meticulous surveys, has listed all the mihrabs with glass mosaics in Cairo: the Mausoleum of Queen Shagar al-Durr (1250), the Madrasah of Qalā'ūn (1285), the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Lagīn's addition in 1296), the Madrasah of Amir Ṭaybars (1309), the Madrasah of Aqbughā (1333), and the Mosque of Sitt Misk (1333).[50] Considering the staggering number of mihrabs to be found in Cairo, that only six are mosaic indicates how rare the technique was.

In Damascus, mosaic mihrabs were equally rare, the only standing one being in the Mosque of Tankiz (1319), which also exhibits the traditional classical green acanthus on a gold background.[51] The only other instance of glass mosaics used for decoration is in the funerary chamber of Baybars in the Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah (1277), where the decoration is applied to the wall and window frames.[52] This suggests that by Mamluk times the craft of glass mosaic was not a flourishing one; it was expensive and therefore rarely and sparingly used. Consequently, it had no chance to develop a vocabulary of its own, and relied instead on the classical past.

The mihrab area is covered by a dome with a polygonal zone of transition with open and blind niches resting on four corner squinches of the Damascus type (fig. 34).[53] The two major domes of the Burṭāsiyyah thus follow the two different Syrian traditions of Aleppo and Damascus. But this juxtaposition and variety of elements seem to characterize all of al-Burṭāsī's monument. Conceived as a madrasah, it was mainly used as a mosque. For its architectural elements it drew on the whole Muslim and pre-Muslim world, on the classical past, the Crusader past, the Muslim west, Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, picking and choosing, mixing and rearranging. The result is a harmonious whole, and its craftsmanship gives the building a quality rarely seen in small structures.

[50] Creswell, *MAE* 2:138.

[51] Selim 'Abdul Hak and Khaled Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas* (Damascus, n d), illustration p. 108.

[52] Sauvaget, *Monuments de Damas*, p 68

[53] Sauvaget, "Architecture musulmane de Syrie," pp. 37–41

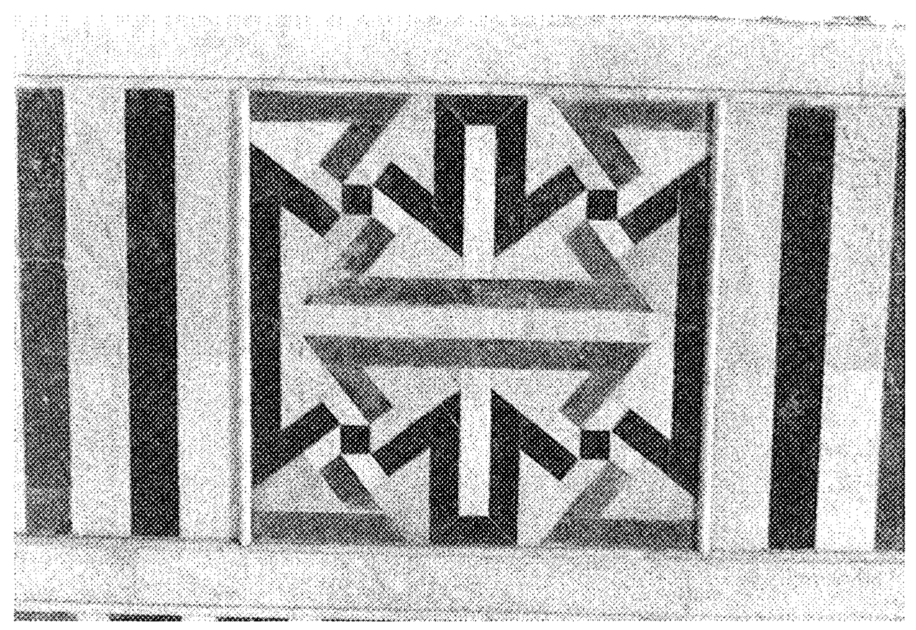


Figure 37. Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, marble motif on qiblah wall.

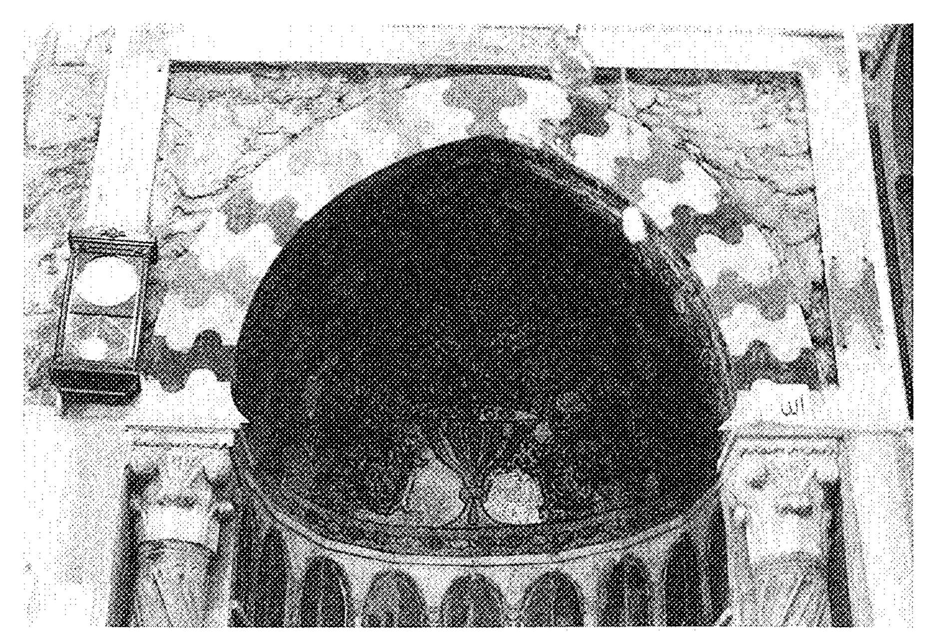


Figure 38 Madrasah-Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, mihrab, mosaic half-dome.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 121–27, photos pp. 125-26; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 54; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 137-38, Inscription no. 63; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 425-29, photos 16, 17, 18; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 207-16, photos pp. 373, 375, 377; al-ʿUṭayfī, *Journey to Lebanon*, ed. Wild, pp. 221-22; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 425.

JAMIʿ ṬAYNĀL

Built in A D 1336 by Amir Ṭaynāl, governor of Tripoli.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, on the southern outskirts of the city, in the orchards by the cemetery of Bāb al-Raml. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 36.

History and Inscriptions

Next to the Great Mosque, the Mosque of Ṭaynāl, locally called "Ṭaylān," though why is unknown, is considered the most important monument in Tripoli. Whatever else they might mention, medieval travelers and twentieth-century scholars alike always include Ṭaynāl's mosque in any survey.

Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1449) writes that he "visited Ṭaynāl's mosque in Tripoli, prayed in it several times, and considered it among the best mosques. . . . It is the musallah of Tripoli on feast days, and it is known as the Mosque of Ṭaylān."[54] Al-ʿUṭayfī, who visited Tripoli in 1634, talks about "Ṭaylān's" mosque as a "large institution" where prayer is held on feast days;[55] and in 1700 when al-Nābulsī visited Tripoli for a fortnight he prayed in the Great Mosque on the first Friday and in Ṭaynāl's mosque on the second.[56] The tradition was maintained when Max van Berchem and E. Fatio visited Tripoli during their Syrian trip in the early twentieth century; again Ṭaynāl's mosque was one of the three monuments they described.[57]

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[54] Ibn Hajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, cited in Tadmurī, p 176; also note the name "Ṭaylān" instead of "Ṭaynāl" as early as the fifteenth century

[55] Al-ʿUṭayfī, *Journey to Lebanon*, p 222

[56] Ibid., p 93.

[57] Max van Berchem and E Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 37) (Cairo, 1914), pp 120–21.

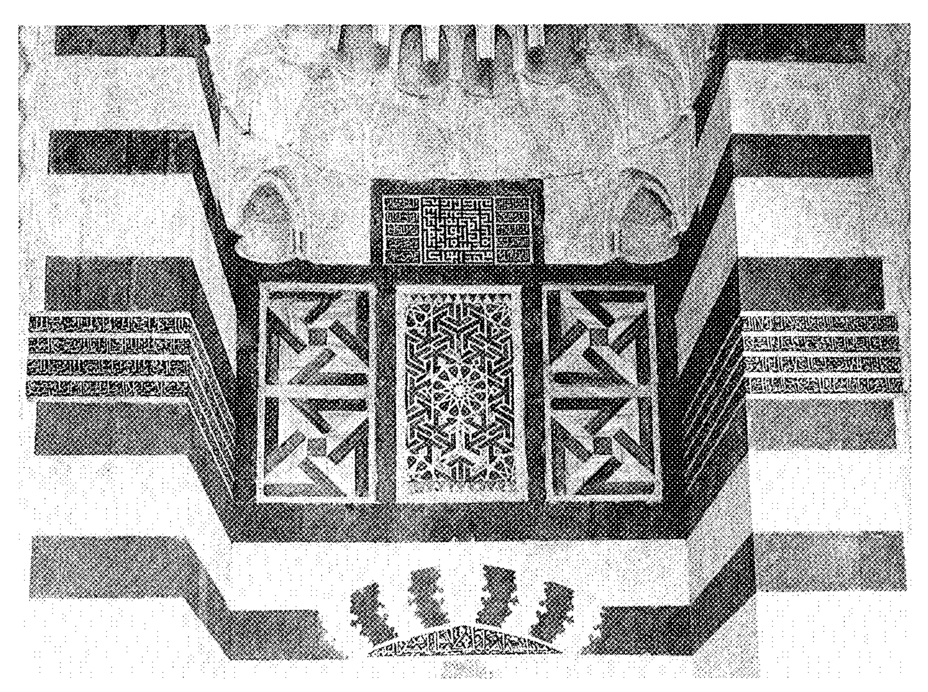


Figure 39. Jamiʿ Ṭaynâl, inner portal, inscriptions.

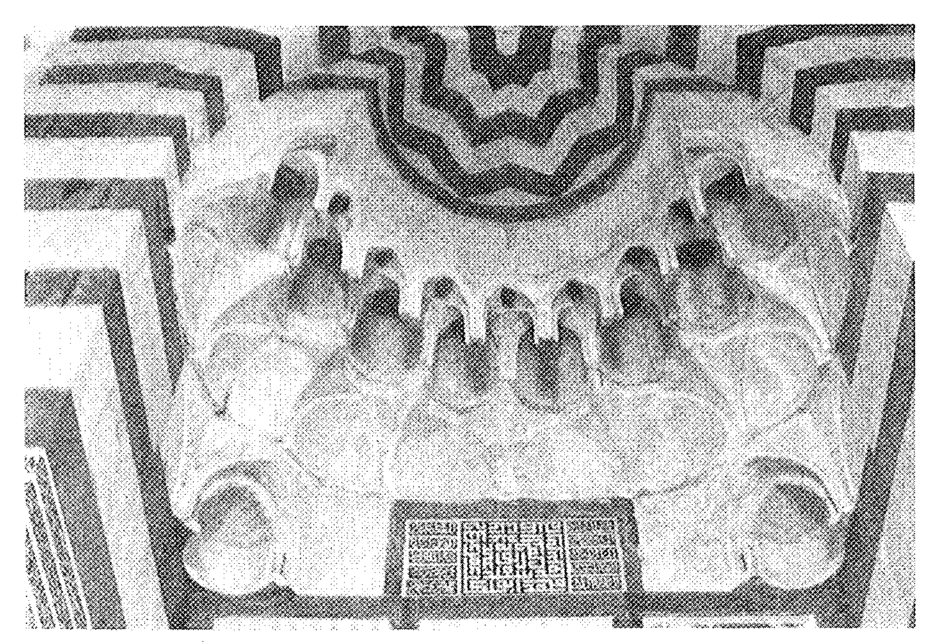


Figure 40. Jamiʿ Ṭaynâl, inner portal, muqarnas hood and founding inscription.

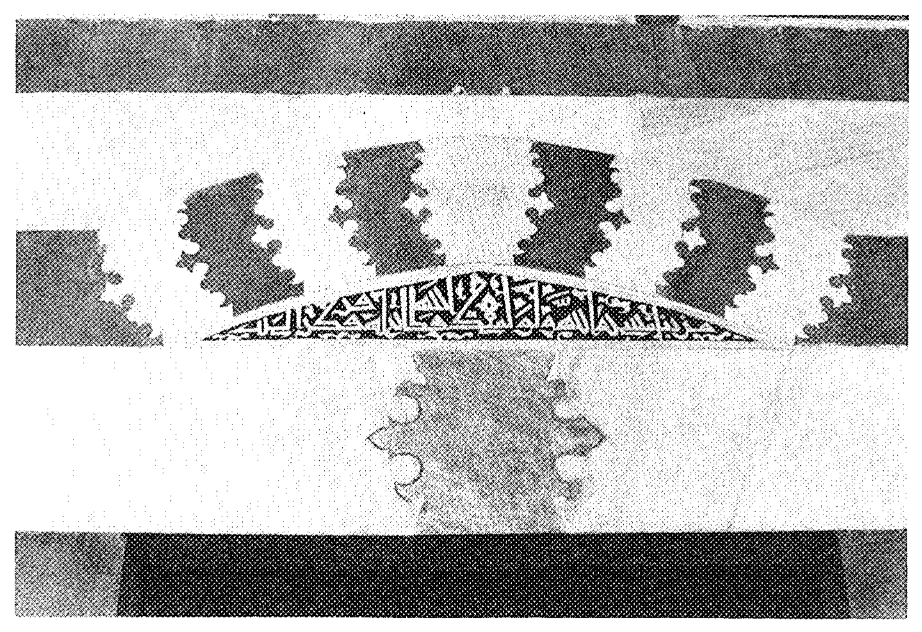


Figure 41. Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, inner portal, inscription on tympanum.

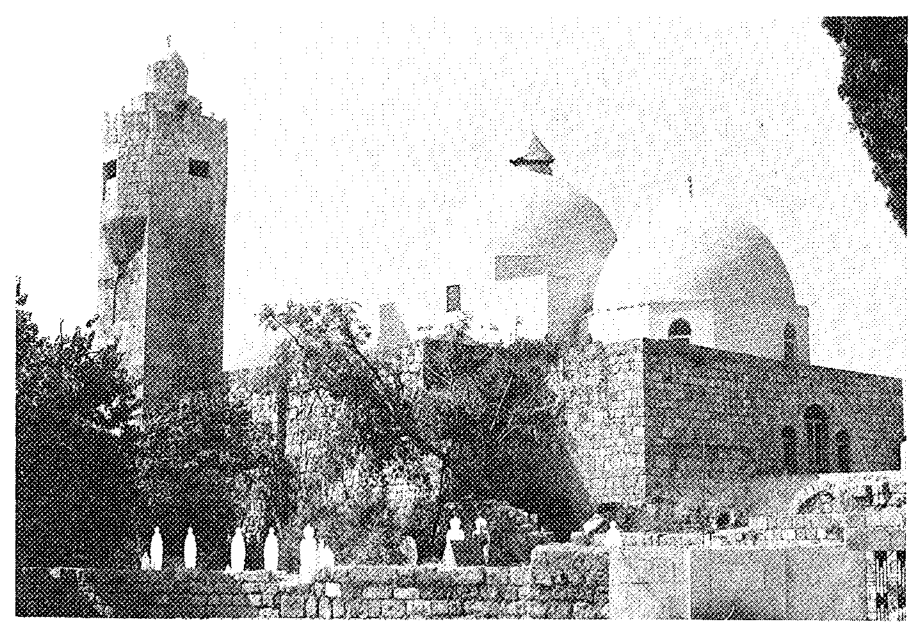


Figure 42. Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, exterior.

The founding inscription is set above the door on the main inner portal (figs. 39 and 40) and identifies the benefactor and the date of construction. It consists of five lines of naskh set on either side of a square which records nine names in a rotating kufic motif; they are not recorded by Sobernheim, and three are undecipherable. The other six read:

محمد ابوبكر عمر عثمان على عبد الرحمن

Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [fig 40].

The inscription itself reads:[58]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بانشاء هذا الجامع المبارك المقر الاشرفى العالى المولوى
طينال الناصرى نائب السلطنة المعظمة بطرابلس المحروسة اتماما فى ايام الملك الناصر
فى شهر رجب سنة ست وثلاثين وسبعمائة .

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, His Excellency the noble, the high master Ṭaynāl al-Nāṣirī, governor of the sultanate, has ordered the building of this blessed jamiʿ. Glorified in Tripoli the well-guarded, in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, in the month of Rajab, in the year seven hundred and thirty-six [A D 1336].

We thus learn that Amir Ṭaynāl ordered the construction of this mosque and that it was completed in February-March 1336. Two more inscriptions, one on either side of this same inner portal, reiterate Ṭaynāl's sponsorship of the mosque and of the mausoleum attached to it, give all the waqf information regarding the two structures, and specify the method for its distribution.

The inscription on the right consists of four lines of naskh following the angle of the doorway (fig. 39); it reads as follows:[59]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بانشاء هذا الجامع المعمور بذكر الله تعالى مولانا المقر
الاشرفى العالى المولوى الكافلى السيدى المالكى المخدومى السيفى طينال الملكى
الناصرى كافل الممالك الشريفة الطرابلسية بلغه الله آماله وتقبل فى الصالحات اعماله
ووقف عليه لمصالحه المعينة فى كتاب وقفه جميع البستان المعروف بالحموى بظاهر طرابلس
وجميع الحانوتين الملاصقين لبابه وجميع البستان المعروف قديما بالطنطاش بسقى طرابلس
وجميع الحانوتين الملاصقين لسوق السلاح بجوار الحمام المعروف باسندمر وهى الان ملك
الواقف وجميع ثلث الخان المعروف بدار الوكالة القديمة وجميع القرية المعروفة بارزونية من
عمل عرقا بجون طرابلس وشرط انه مهما فضل من ريع هذا الوقف عن ارباب وظائفه ومصالحه

[58] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 86-87, Inscription 39; several words were misread by Sobernheim:
3rd line to the right الاشرف should read الشريفى
4th line to the right الاميرى should read طينال
1st line to the left الشريفة should read المعظمة

[59] Ibid., no 40, pp. 87–88; also Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p 475; and Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 171.

المعينة فى كتابه يصرف للفقراء والمساكين المقيمين بطرابلس والواردين اليها حسب ما
يراه الناظر فى ذلك من غير ان يرتب لاحد مرتبا فى كل شهر او كل يوم ومن غير ذلك او
بدله او رتب شيئا مستمرا كانت عليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين .

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, our master His Noble High Excellency, the master, the governor, the lord, the man in power, the served one, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaynāl al-Nāṣirī, governor of the royal province of Tripoli, has ordered the building of this mosque erected to the glory of God, may God fulfill his hopes and accept his works among the good ones. And he has constituted as waqf [in favor of the mosque] to be used for the functions specified in his written waqf: the whole garden known as Ḥamawī, in the outskirts of Tripoli, and the whole of the two shops next to the door of the mosque, and the whole garden formerly known as Alṭunṭāsh in the irrigated land of Tripoli, and the whole of the two shops next to the suq of arms, next to the bath known as Usindamur, and these are now the property of the founder; and the whole of the third of the khan known as the old Dār al-Wakālah, and the whole village known as Arzunīyyah in the dependencies of ʿArqā in the bay of Tripoli. And he stipulated that whatever excess from the revenue of this waqf remains after proper reductions are made for those employed in its specified functions and maintenance as prescribed in the waqf is to be spent on the poor and the impoverished living in Tripoli and coming to Tripoli at the discretion of the supervisor of the mosque, but without his allocating a fixed wage to anyone, neither monthly nor daily. Should anyone change or interfere with this or assign a regular salary, he shall be struck by the malediction of God, the angels, and the whole of mankind.

This exceedingly generous endowment, which included whole shops and villages, was for the upkeep of the mosque alone. Another equally generous endowment was provided for the upkeep of the mausoleum (though in the end Ṭaynāl was never buried there), and the waqf document for that is inscribed again on the inner portal opposite the first one. The inscription on the left reads as follows:[60]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بانشاء هذه التربة المباركة رحم الله ساكنها مولانا ملك الامراء
المشار اليه اثابه الله وتقبل منه وجزاه خيرا ورضى عنه ووقف على مصالحها وارباب وظائفها
المعينة فى كتابتها جميع الطبقة المجاورة لها من الشرق وتعرف بالخطيب وجميع القيسارية
المستجدة المجاورة لمسجد ارزنى من الغرب بسكن الخلعيين وعدد حوانيتها ست عشرة
وطباقها ست عشرة وجميع الحانوتين بطرف سوق الحدادين من الصف الغربى المعروف
قديما بابن ربه وجميع الحوانيت والطباق انشاء الوقف بالعرصة القديمة وجميع الست حوانيت
المستجدة انشاء الواقف وتعرف قديما بمظفر بسويقة القاضى والثلث طباق الراكبة عليها
وجميع الحاكورة المجاورة لهذا الجامع من القبلة وجميع الارض المجاورة للميدان من القبلة
وشرط انه مهما فضل من ريع هذا الوقف عن ارباب وظائفه ومصالحه المعينة فى كتاب الوقف
يصرف للفقراء والمساكين المقيمين والواردين كما شرط فى وقف الجامع من غير ترتيب ومن
رتب لاحد مرتبا مستمرا او جدد لاحد شيئا على سبيل الراتب (المستمر) كان الله محاربه
ومحاسبه ومكافيه وحشره مع الاخسرين اعمالا الذين ضل سعيهم فى الحياة الدنيا وهم
يحسبون انهم يحسنون صنعا .

[60] Ibid., no 41, pp 91–92; also Salem, *Ṭarâblus al-Shām*, pp. 475–76; and Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 172.

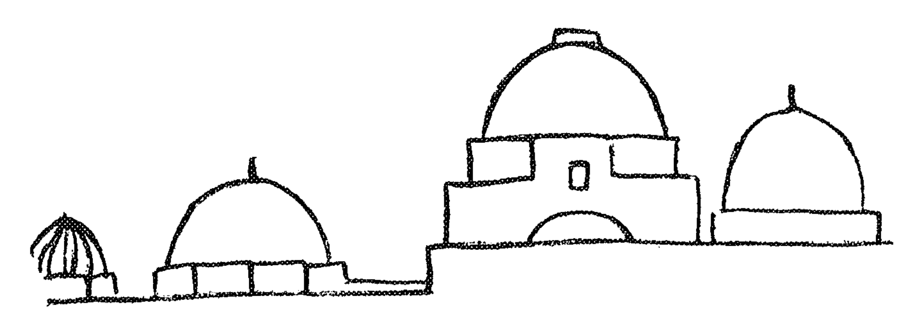


Figure 43. Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, profile of domes.
After van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1914; fig. 53, p 120

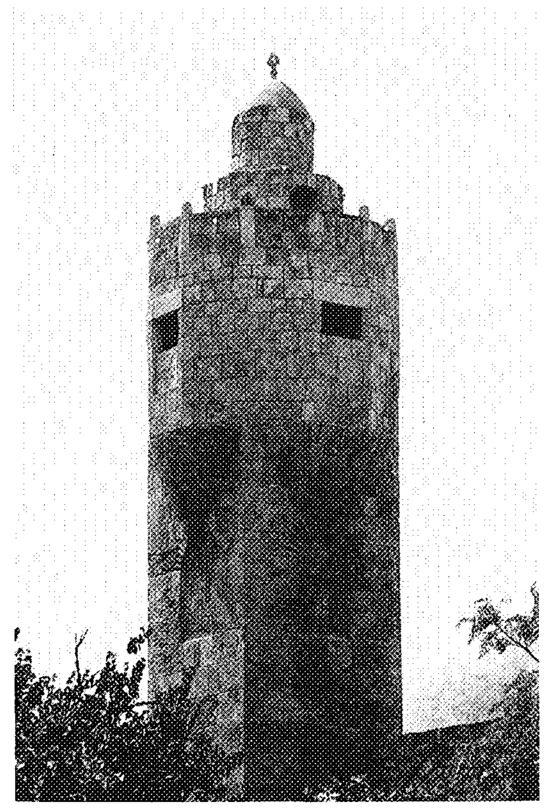


Figure 44 Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, minaret.

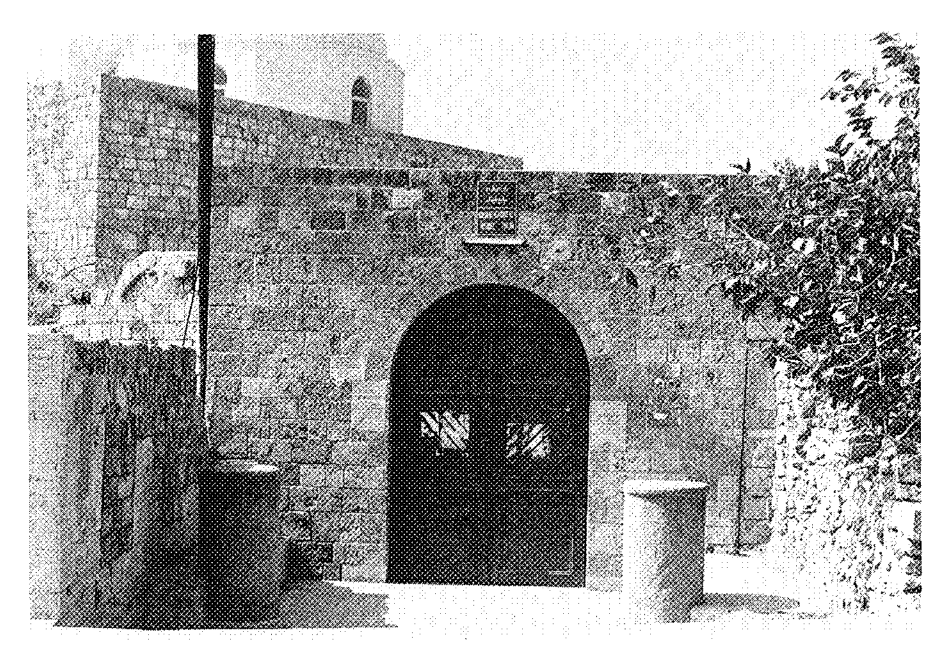


Figure 45. Jami' Ṭaynāl, outer door.

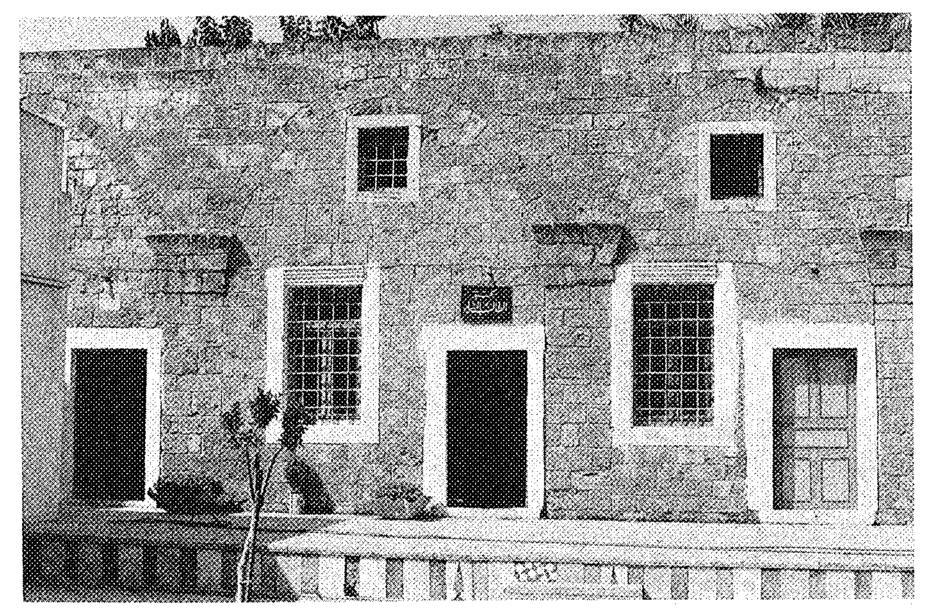


Figure 46. Jami' Ṭaynāl, courtyard, western wall

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, our master the previously mentioned king of the amirs, may God recognize his good [deeds] and accept them from him, give him goodness, and be happy with him, has ordered the building of this blessed mausoleum, may God have pity on him who lies in it. And he has constituted as waqf to ensure the upkeep of the mausoleum and for the salaries of those employed in it as specified in its acts, the whole upper floor to its east known as al-Khaṭīb[61] and the whole of the renovated market [*qayṣariyyah*] near the Mosque of Arzūnī to the west, by the stalls of the dealers in used clothing, and the number of its shops is sixteen and of its rooms upstairs sixteen; and all of the two shops by the Suq of the Ironmongers [*ḥaddādīn*] on the western side previously known as Abī Rabbihi; and the entirety of the shops and floor built by the founder in the old ʿArṣah; and the entirety of the six newly built shops by the founder previously called Muzaffar in the Suwayqat al-Qāḍī; and the three rooms above them; and the whole of the enclosed area in the vicinity of this mosque to the south; and the whole of the land to the south of the maydān; on the condition that whatever remains from the revenues of these waqfs, after the proper reductions are made for those employed in the functions specified and the maintenance prescribed in the waqf, is to be spent on the poor and the impoverished living in Tripoli and coming to Tripoli, but without fixed wages, and whoever gives a salary to anyone or establishes a regular income which resembles a salary, God shall be his enemy, shall ask him to render his account, shall put him with the depraved on the Day of Judgment, with those who have made efforts in the wrong direction during life on earth while under the impression that they were doing the right thing.

The two waqf documents of the mosque and of the mausoleum also refer to the extensive wealth of Amir Ṭaynāl.

But who was this Amir Ṭaynāl, and what do we know about him? He is often mentioned in the chronicles, and his biography is recounted in al-Ṣafadī and repeated in Qāḍī Shuhbah, whose account closely follows al-Ṣafadī's.[62] They both maintain that Ṭaynāl was one of the Mamluks who had given their allegiance to Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, whom they call al-Ashrafī (as does the first inscription). Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, claims that Ṭaynāl was one of the Mamluks of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (under whose reign the mosque was built; the title "al-Nāṣirī" is attributed to the founder in the second inscription).[63] An accurate chronology can also be drawn from these biographies: in 1326 Ṭaynāl was named successor to Qaraṭāy as governor of Tripoli; in 1333 Ṭaynāl caused so

[61] Ibid , p. 93. Sobernheim notes that only large mosques have rooms for the mosque's preacher. Ṭaynāl's mosque has two such rooms, one to the east and one to the west of the entrance.

[62] For Ṭaynāl's biography and the pertinent information which can be drawn from al-Ṣafadī and al-Shuhbah, see Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 88–89.

[63] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzīyah* (Beirut: Dār Sader, n.d.), p. 76

much trouble for Tankiz that he was sent to Ghazzah, a less important post than Tripoli; in 1335 Ṭaynāl regained Tankiz's favor and was again named governor of Tripoli; in 1340 Tankiz was deposed, and Ṭaynāl had to leave Tripoli; in 1341 Ṭaynāl took back his post in Tripoli; and finally in 1343 he died in Damascus.

From this list we can conclude that Ṭaynāl had three terms of office in Tripoli beginning respectively in 1326, 1335, and 1341, and that the mosque was built during his second term. The chronicles praise him as an intelligent man with administrative talents, but also describe him as miserly and greedy. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who visited Tripoli during Ṭaynāl's first term, describes the pomp that surrounded him when he moved around the city and tells us that "his residence there is in the mansion known as Dār al-Saʿādah (the Abode of Felicity)." We also know that he owned a house in Damascus, later to become the Madrasah Ṭaynāliyyah,[64] and that he built himself a house in Cairo on the "site of the Fatimid hospital" next to the al-Azhar mosque.[65] But his mosque in Tripoli must still be considered his most ambitious undertaking.

The mosque's large size, lavish decorations, and the fame of its founder attracted a great deal of attention in its early days. Later, people were interested in it largely on account of its architectural peculiarities. In 1700 al-Nābulsī notes that it is a "pleasant jamiʿ, but strange in style and unusual in its organization." Later scholars, including van Berchem and Fatio, explained its peculiarities as reflecting the remnants of a Crusader church;[66] a recent study advances the theory that it was built on the remains of a temple dedicated to Zeus.[67] Whatever the theory, they all have one observation in common: the shape of the mosque and some of its architectural elements suggest that it once fulfilled some different function.

The minbar (fig. 54) has two inscriptions, one at the top, the other on a lower level. The inscription at the top, five lines of naskh, reads as follows:[68]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وأقام الصلاة وآتى
الذكاة ولم يخشى الا الله فعسى اولائك ان يكونوا من المهتدين . تكمل هذا المنبر فـــى
شهر ذى القعدة سنة ست وثلاثين وسبعمائة .

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[64] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭā*, trans. and notes by H. A R. Gibb, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1958–61), vol. 1, pp 88–89; also M. Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks d'après les auteurs arabes* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 3) (Paris, 1923), pp. 110, 222 ff.; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 89–90.

[65] Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6 vols. (Damascus, 1925–28), 6: 78.

[66] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p 72; van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, p 120

[67] Hassan Sarkis, "Histoire de Tripoli," *Les Cahiers de l'Oronte* 10 (1971–72): 97

[68] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 93, Inscription no 42.

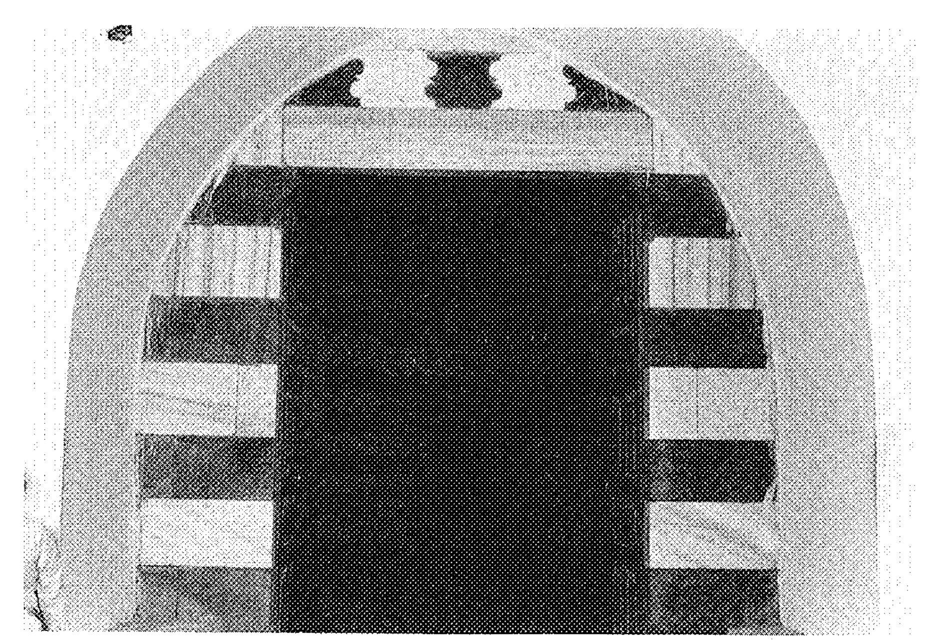


Figure 47. Jami' Ṭaynāl, main entrance.

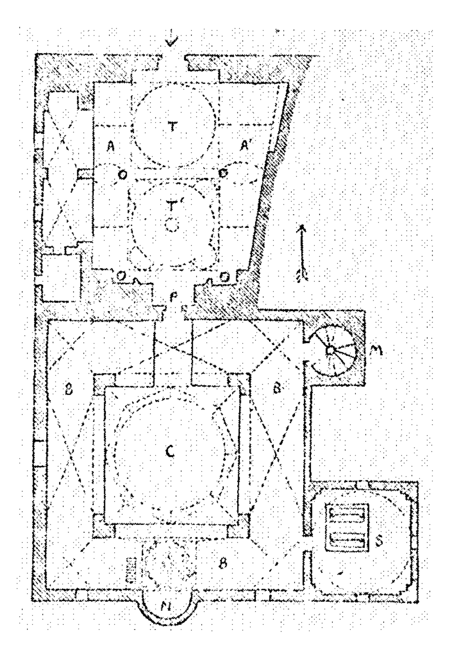


Figure 48. Jami' Ṭaynāl, plan After van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1914; fig. 54, p. 120

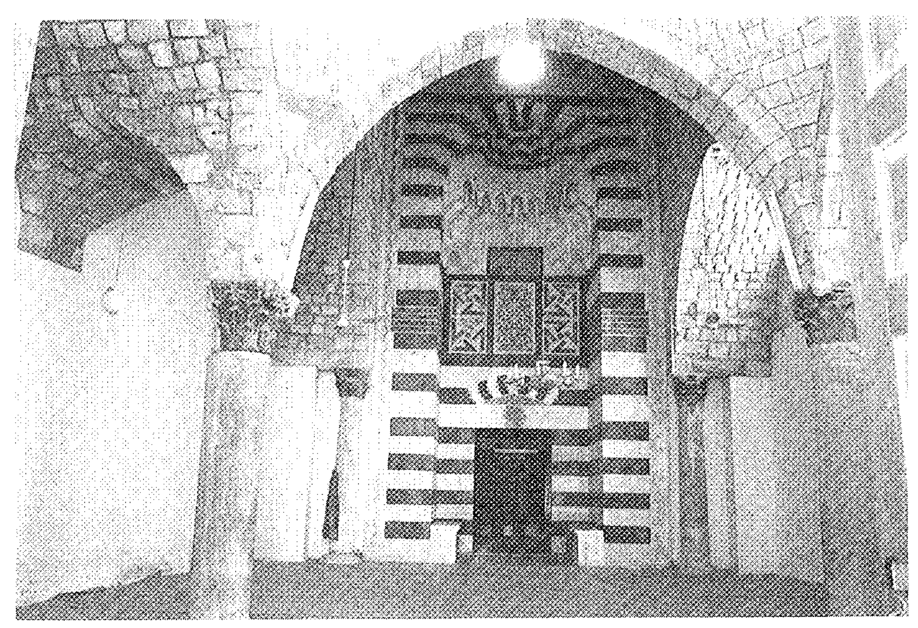


Figure 49. Jami' Ṭaynāl, hall or vestibule and inner portal.

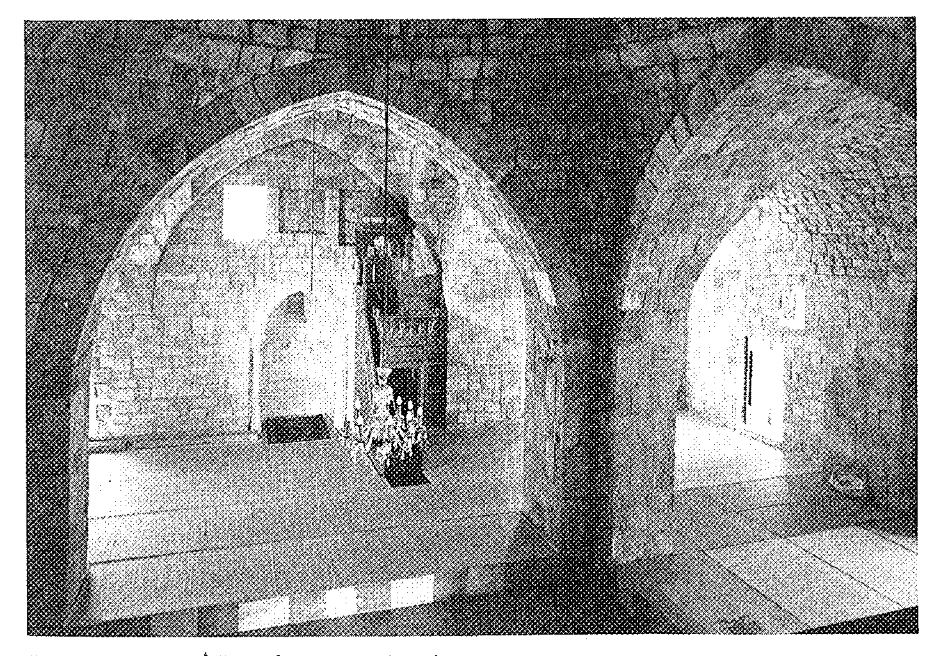


Figure 50. Jami' Ṭaynāl, mosque, interior.

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, only he shall inhabit God's place of worship who believes in God and the Last Day and performs the prayer and pays the alms and fears none but God alone, may those be among the guided ones [Qur'an 9.18] This minbar was completed in the month of Zul'iqdah in the year seven hundred and thirty-six.

Completed in June or July 1336, the minbar is contemporary with the mosque, which was finished in March of the same year.

The second inscription on the minbar, a line of naskh,[69] gives us the name of the carpenter, who apparently was pleased enough with his work to sign it in an obvious place:

عمل المعلم محمد الصفدي رحم الله من ترحم عليه .

[This is] the work of master Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī, may God have mercy on those who show mercy to him.

Yet another inscription is on the portal tympanum area formed by the arch and the lintel. It is very beautiful in white decorative kufic on a black ground, but unfortunately almost indecipherable (fig. 41). It is not recorded by Sobernheim.

Description

Ṭaynāl's mosque stands alone in the middle of an orchard, and can be viewed from all sides (fig. 42); its profile of domes (fig. 43) and minaret identifies it as a distinctly Muslim building. An oblong structure of sandstone, its four domes are of various sizes and shapes that reflect its interior superstructure: a large dome resting on a sixteen-sided zone, a higher dome resting on a double drum, and a medium dome on a sixteen-sided zone followed by a small ribbed dome.

The rather unusually shaped minaret to the east of the mosque is also of sandstone (fig. 44). A rectangular short shaft carries an even shorter octagonal shaft resting on four buttresses and ending in a balcony around two superimposed cylinders. For decoration, the square shaft is opened by windows with a cushion voussoir arch, as is the case with the minarets of Qalā'ūn (1285) and Salār and Sanjār (1303) in Cairo,[70] a motif commonly used by Latins and Muslims alike. The octagonal shaft is opened by four windows topped by a lintel slab, and it carries vertical cornerstones with a rounded top around the balcony. It has an interesting twin set of stairs, one of which opens into the mausoleum area of the mosque and the other leads to the outside, the two running

[69] Ibid., p 94, Inscription no. 43
[70] Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, pls. 124–25.

separately within the shaft up to the balcony.[71] This unusual system was also used in the minaret of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in the Great Mosque of Cordoba.[72]

While at a distance the domes and minaret display no special peculiarities, indications that there was once another structure on the site begin to appear when one approaches the mosque. Just in front of the outer door the tops of two granite columns rise a meter above the ground (fig. 45), and in the open courtyard before the entrance to the mosque the western wall shows clear signs of arches and of wall segments used for the support of a superstructure (fig. 46). These two remnants need not be of the same period; the granite columns, which are clearly at a lower level, may well have belonged to a temple of Zeus that may once have stood on the site, and the western wall may equally well have been part of a Crusaders' church destroyed at the time of the Mamluk conquest of Tripoli.

In the Muslim period the exterior of Ṭaynāl's mosque was subjected to alterations on its entrance side. The main entrance (fig. 47), built in an alternation of black and white masonry with a row of joggled stones above the lintel, shows signs of having been changed from a rectangular to a deeply arched entrance by the addition of a whitewashed canopy.

The plan (fig. 48) shows two units connected by an axial doorway; a northern entrance hall (fig. 49) leads through the monumental inner portal to the southern square area which includes the mihrab (fig. 50). The first unit (fig. 49) is an oblong three-aisled hall, with a wider central aisle leading to the inner portal. The area is divided by four granite columns of unequal width with four classical Corinthian capitals supporting the arches which carry the superstructure. This layout—columns, capitals, and arches—led van Berchem and Fatio and modern writers who followed them to consider Ṭaynāl's mosque to be a reused Crusaders' church.[73] The arrangement is indeed a curious one, and this room might well have belonged to an earlier Christian structure which itself had used older classical columns and capitals for supports.

The superstructure, however, is neither Roman nor Christian, for the two domes covering the first hall are of purely local Islamic tradition. The first of the two domes, to the north (fig. 51), has a simple cupola on a sixteen-sided zone with sixteen arches—alternately opened and closed—resting on four simple corner pendentives between the four

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[71] Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 53, found the system so unusual that he never got around to describing the rest of the mosque.

[72] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 412, n 23.

[73] Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, p 120, followed by Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 48; Samia Nassar, *Connaissance du Liban* (Beirut, 1969), p 12.

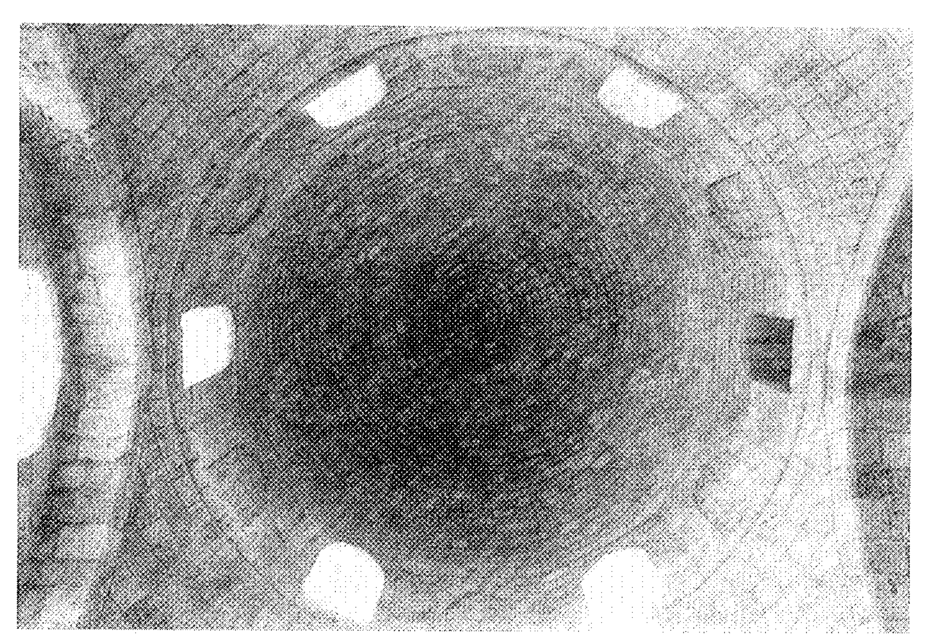


Figure 51. Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, first dome in vestibule, interior.

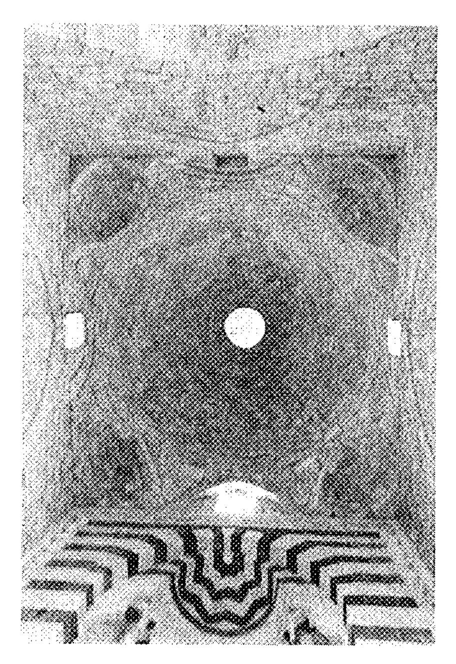


Figure 52. Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, second dome (in front of portal), interior.

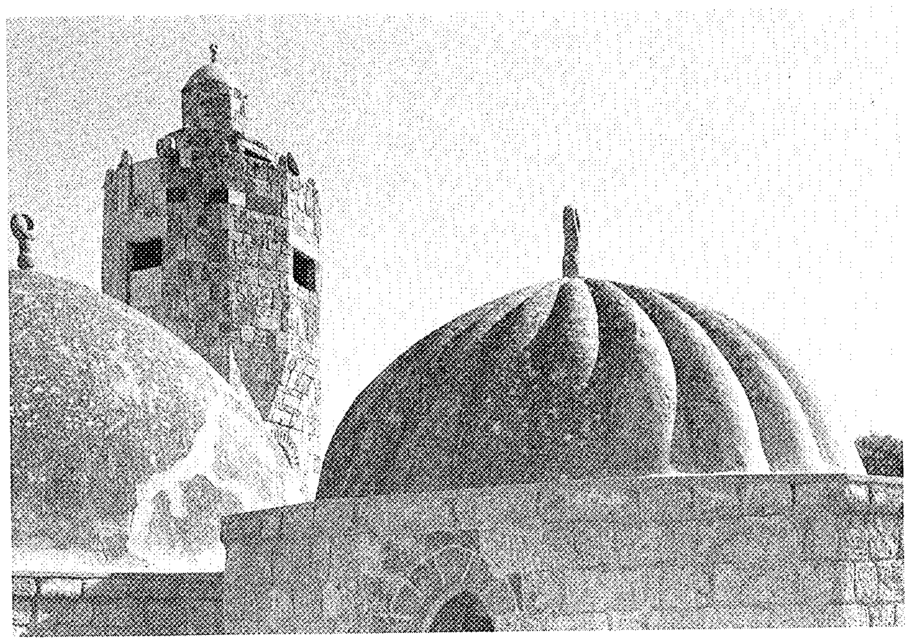


Figure 53. Jami' Ṭaynāl, dome over mihrab area, exterior

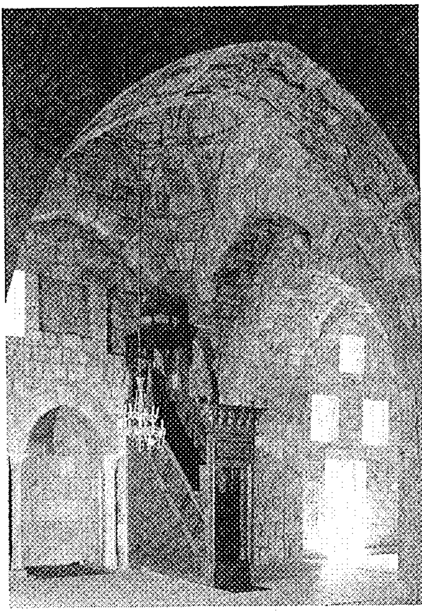


Figure 54. Jami' Ṭaynāl, mihrab and minbar.

arches. The second dome, set directly in front of the inner façade (fig. 52), is higher than the first, and the area it covers is raised on four blind arches to reach the height of the portal. The dome itself consists of a cupola on an octagonal zone of four arches and four fan-like corner squinches resting directly on the four walls, an arrangement often encountered in Tripoli, the dome in the Madrasah Qâdiriyyah representing the closest parallel.

The floor, like the superstructure, is a Mamluk addition. The whole central aisle of the first hall is covered by a large pattern of marble mosaics which originally included a marble fountain in its middle (now removed). Though badly damaged (the mosque served as a shelter for Palestinian refugees for some fifteen years), the marble flooring shows a pattern of large square units of geometric motifs in red, black, and white marble. The motifs are ambitious choices from the known Mamluk decorative vocabulary in Tripoli—for example, on the floors of al-Burṭāsī's mosque and the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah—and include the rotating swastika pattern used on the inner façade and a simplified version of the rotating knot on the façade of the Qarṭāwiyyah. If this first hall is indeed a reused part of a Crusaders' church, the architect has managed to give it a Muslim flavor through the use of Mamluk domes and Mamluk flooring and by using an axial fountain to direct attention to the inner façade that leads to the second unit beyond.

The second main area (see plan and fig. 50) is a totally Muslim construction in its plan, elements, and decoration. A covered central courtyard has a vaulted area around a sunken court, the floor is all covered with marble, and the area around the court is of a joggled black and white ablaq. The superstructure consists of simple long and short cross-vaults (see plan) to the sides and of two domes on the axis. The first of the two domes covers the central court and rests on a sixteen-sided zone of niches on simple pendentives. The second dome covers the area in front of the mihrab, and although the smallest of the four domes, it is the most decorative. It consists of a ribbed cupola resting on sixteen niches over an octagonal zone with corner squinches (fig. 53).

The mihrab itself is very simple; its only decorations are the two side colonnettes of white marble. The minbar is a masterpiece of Mamluk woodwork with sides of a complex star pattern and a ramp decorated with geometric patterns, unfortunately by now heavily painted over (fig. 54).

The final element of Ṭaynāl's mosque is the monumental gateway placed between the two main areas. A tall portal rising to the height of the building, it is the focal point of the mosque (fig. 49). Constructed entirely of alternate courses of fine black and white masonry, the portal

is framed by a zigzag motif of carved stone. Its size, proportions, and fine craftsmanship suggest that it was not intended merely to be an interior gateway but rather to function as a façade for the part of the building containing the mihrab. The rectangular opening which serves as a passageway is topped by a decorative motif (figs. 39 and 41) formed by a relieving arch of complex joggled black and white stone pointing outward from a central white stone over a flat lintel of white stone slab with a center joggled stone. The tympanum area contains the beautiful but indecipherable inscription mentioned earlier. The composition of this arch and lintel with its inscription is exactly like that of the windows on the back wall of the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah.

Above that motif is the central panel surrounded by the founding inscriptions (figs. 39 and 55), the only decorative nonstructural element of the façade. It consists of three equal vertical rectangles of marble marquetry; a central plaque of red marble with a star motif in white marble, from which radiates a whole maze of geometric patterns in black and white; and side panels of two squares each containing a rotating swastika pattern in red, black, and white, like those on the floor of the first hall. These patterns are often encountered in Mamluk decoration (for example, on the Mosque of Tawrīzī in Damascus).[74] This panel is surmounted by a muqarnas hood with corner shell motifs on two

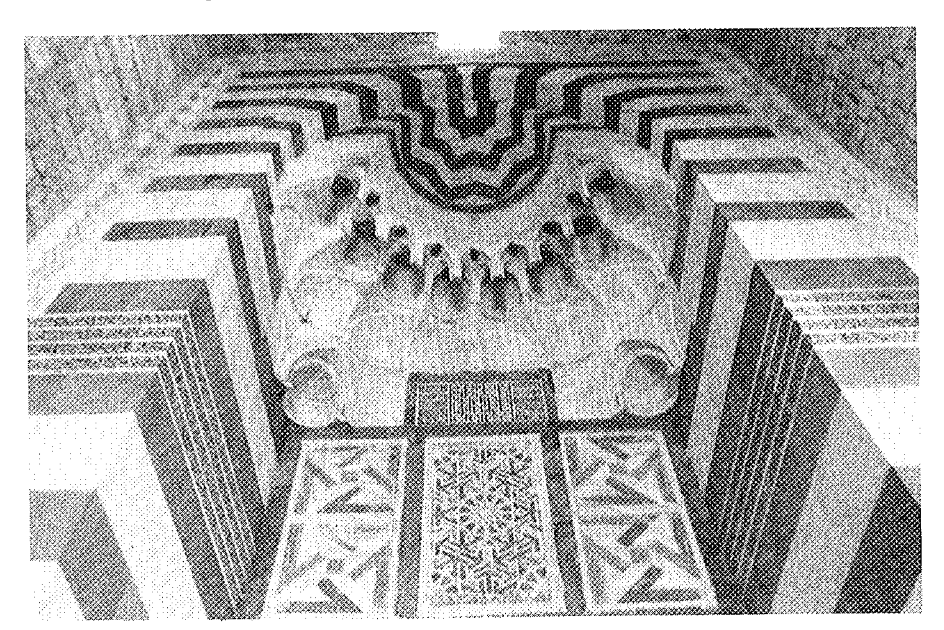


Figure 55. Jami' Ṭaynāl, inner portal, detail.

[74] Abdulkader Rihaoui, *Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus, 1969), p 131, illustration.

colonnettes and a top row of stalactite muqarnas. The half-dome at the top of the muqarnas is decorated with a large zigzag motif in relief accentuated by the layers of black and white running in from the sides of the gateway.

It seems likely that the second unit of the building with the mausoleum attached to it was the mosque that Amir Ṭaynāl built, since it is complete in its elements—mihrab, minbar, minaret, and façade, and that Roman and Christian elements found lying about were refurbished with Mamluk accents (domes and floor) and then used to form the very large hall or vestibule. Ṭaynāl's mosque can thus best be explained by regarding it as a purely Muslim construction. The remains found on the site[75] were only used in the first part of the building, and it is just this part that has created such confusion. It has none of the Muslim elements or requirements for a mosque, in contrast with the second, self-contained unit which displays all the elements of a mosque organized in a known Muslim fashion.

Selected Reading

Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, pp. 120–21; Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 47–52, photos pp. 49–51; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 53; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 86–94, Inscriptions 39–43; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, pp. 72, 93; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 409-13, plates 6, 7, 8; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 162–80, photos pp. 359, 360, and 361; Unesco, no. 13, pp. 12, 14; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 421–22.

JAMIʿ AL-ʿAṬṬĀR

Built in A.D. 1350 by a perfumer, Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River at the end of the Suq al-Bazirkān (a small-trader's suq), near the Khan al-Khayyāṭīn and Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, and not, as one might expect, in the Perfumer's Suq. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 13.

History and Inscriptions

The Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār is one of the largest mosques in Tripoli. Still in use today, it is regarded as the third most important in the city.[76] In 1700 al-

[75] A major Mamluk activity was to restore and refurbish existing monuments and remains Many examples of this activity can be seen in Jerusalem.

[76] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 413

Nābulsī listed it as the eighth in importance of the twelve mosques where Friday prayer was held.[77] Literary evidence suggests that it was also an important mosque in Mamluk times.

An inscription above the door of the main portal (fig. 56), a line of naskh, reads:[78]

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا الباب المبارك والمنبر عمل المعلم محمد ابن ابراهيم المهندس
> في سنة احد وخمسين وسبعمائة .

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, this blessed door and the minbar are the work of master Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm the architect, in the year seven hundred and fifty-one [A D 1350].

The architect named could have built either the original mosque or a later restoration. But a Mamluk account by al-Dawadārī in *Al-Durr al-Fākhir* reports the building of a mosque in Tripoli by a rich perfume merchant in the year A.H. 751,[79] so it is safe to assume that the date on the inscription is a founding date of the building, and that the benefactor was Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, a prosperous perfume merchant and son of another perfumer as his name, ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, indicates. According to al-Nābulsī, "the al-ʿAṭṭār mosque was known to have been a [Crusaders'] church and a man who was a perfumer spent money in secret on its building, hence it was named after him."[80] The fact that he spent money on it "in secret" could explain the omission of his name from the founding inscription. Since the perfumer donated his money anonymously and the mosque is not in the Suq of the Perfumers, it was clearly not built to be the mosque of the perfumers corporation, as Sobernheim seems to conclude.[81] Its anonymous benefactor simply happened to be a perfumer who helped finance the mosque. In time his identity was revealed, and the mosque was then named after him.

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[77] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p. 72

[78] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 104–5, Inscription 46; photo of door and inscription, p 10 Sobernheim mentions a third inscription of 1418, which includes decrees concerning the Perfumer's Suq and was found in the wall of a private house, but since the inscription was not in situ and the mosque is not in the Perfumer's Suq, it does not appear to be relevant to our building

[79] See Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbdullah al-Dawadārī, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Hans Roehmer (Cairo: German Institute, 1960), p 391. But this is questioned by Tadmurī, who, in his *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 190–91, refutes the A H 751 (A D 1350) date and, using the same source, argues for A H 735 or even earlier. He also provides textual evidence for the death of al-ʿAṭṭār by the black death in A H 749.

[80] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p 72:

> جامع العطار ، قيل ان اصله كنيسة قد عمره رجل كان عطارا ، وكان ينفق عليه من الغيب فنسب اليه .

[81] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 104, n 2. The conclusion Sobernheim draws from al-Nābulsī's text (n. 78, above) is that "this mosque was therefore that of the corporation of the perfumers " Nothing in the text supports this conclusion, however; it only says that "a man who was a perfumer endowed this building in secret "

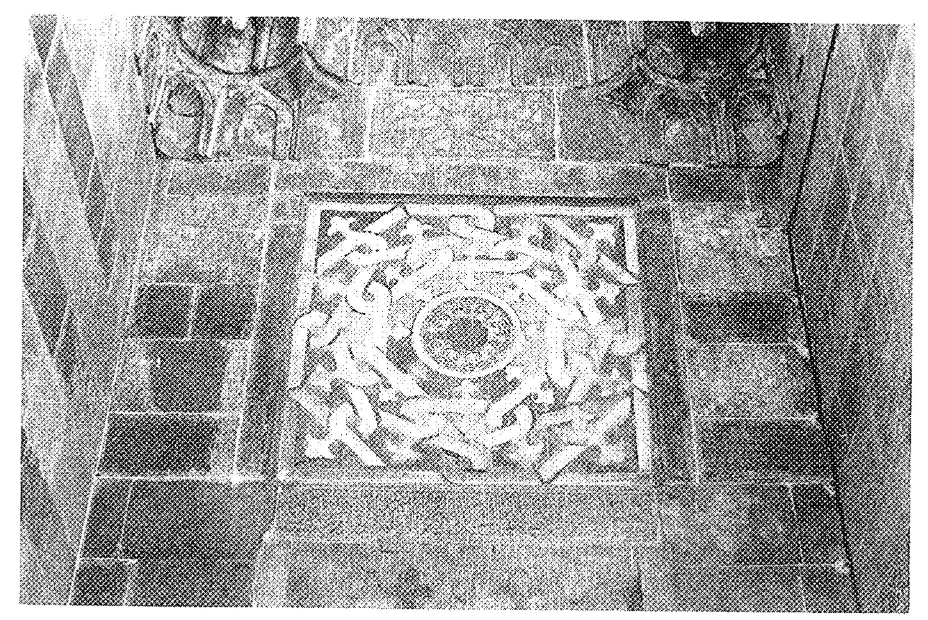


Figure 56. Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, main portal, inscription and decorative plaque.



Figure 57. Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, bay of main portal, right wall.

The inscription in the bay of the main portal on the right wall, 2 meters above the ground (fig. 57), consists of two lines of naskh, and records a decree of A.H. 821/A D. 1418 which refers to the monument as the Jami' al-'Aṭṭār. The inscription reads:[82]

لما كانت بتاريخ العشر الاول من ربيع الاول سنة احد وعشرين وثمان مائة ورد المرسوم
الشريف السلطان الملك المؤيد ابو النصر شيخ بان لا يؤخذ من سكان وقف جامع العطار
للمحتسبين من قدوم ولا شهر ولا اذا مكروه استجلاب ادعية المصلين ومن عمل به له اجره
ومن خالف عليه غضب الله ولعنة الملائكة والناس اجمعين آمين .

> On the date of the first tenth of Rabi' al-awwal of the year eight hundred and twenty-one [April 8–17, 1418], the royal edict of Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abū al-Naṣr Shaykh arrived which decreed that nothing should be levied from the inhabitants of the waqf of Jami' al-'Aṭṭār by the inspectors; that there should be no auctions and no injustices; that the requests of those praying may be granted. Those who comply would be compensated, and those who oppose would draw upon themselves the anger of God and the maledictions of all angels and all men. Amen.

From the text it is clear that within about sixty-eight years of its building, the mosque was already being called the Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, and that its waqf had attracted the attention of administrative officials, as was often the case with many buildings (the Qarṭāwiyyah is the most obvious example in Tripoli).

A third inscription is on a muqarnas decoration above the lintel of a door on the western side of the mosque (fig. 58). It apparently went unnoticed by Sobernheim and those who followed him, but was finally recently published by Tadmurī.[83] It is in a primitive script that reads:

عمل ابو بكر ابن البصيص الله رحمه تعالى .

"This is the work of Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ, may God have mercy on him." Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ was a known and active architect of the time, who was often called upon to do difficult jobs such as the building of the Dāmūr Bridge. In his *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, writing about the events of A H. 745 (A D. 1344), reports that "Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ al-Ba'labakī is an expert architect in coastal works; he is the one who built the Nahr al-Kalb Bridge and other difficult works in the lands of Tripoli."[84] So two architects worked on the mosque and were moved to sign their name to it. One of them was famous; one otherwise unknown.

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[82] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 105, Inscription no. 47; photograph, pl. 9

[83] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 195

[84] Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, ed. P. Louis Cheikho, 2d ed (Beirut, 1927), pp. 103–4.

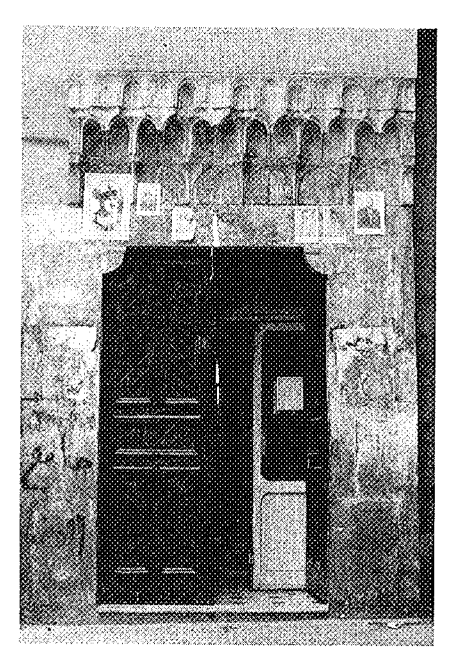


Figure 58 Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār, rear door to the west.

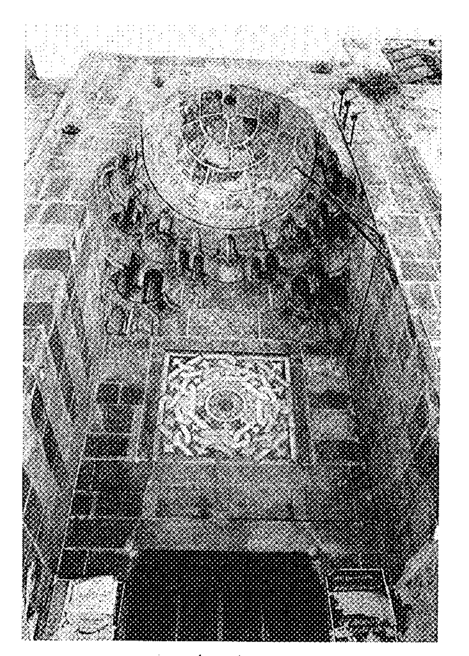


Figure 59. Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār, main portal

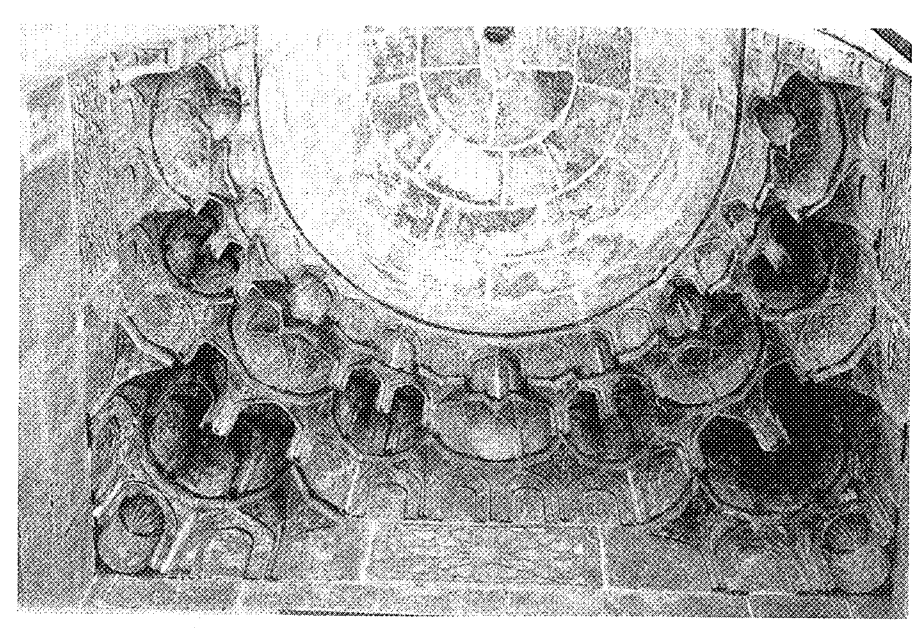


Figure 60 Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār, main portal, muqarnas hood.

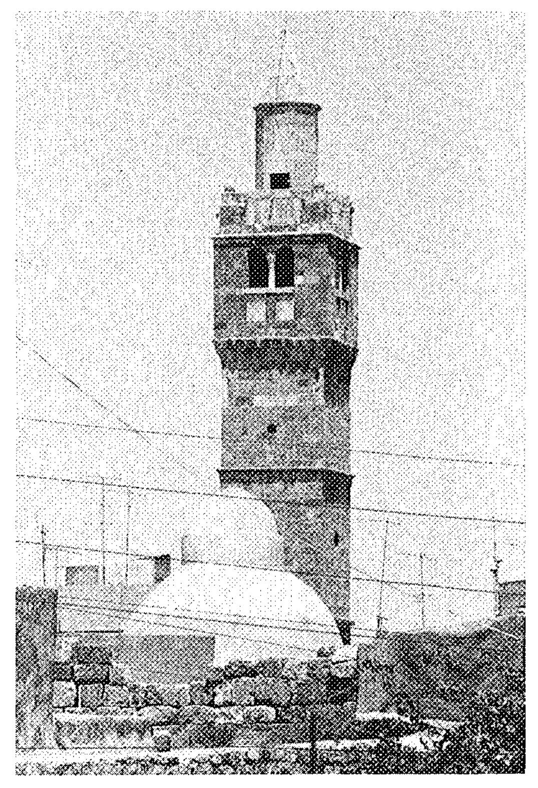


Figure 61. Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, minaret.

Description

From the outside the mosque blends into its surroundings and does not stand out as an independent structure, but three elements—the eastern main portal (the single most impressive element of the al-'Aṭṭār mosque), the western side entrance, and the minaret—distinguish the building from its surroundings by their size, decoration, and quality.

The main portal of the mosque opens onto the northern third of the prayer area and faces east. It is a monumental and ambitious achievement (fig. 59), not part of a composed and organized façade, but an independent element that provides the focal point of the building. It is a tall, rectangular composition, higher than the mosque proper, carefully constructed and richly decorated. It is built of alternate courses of black and light-colored well-cut stone and framed by two rows of stone molding. The decoration is restricted to the inner surface of the portal above the rectangular door.

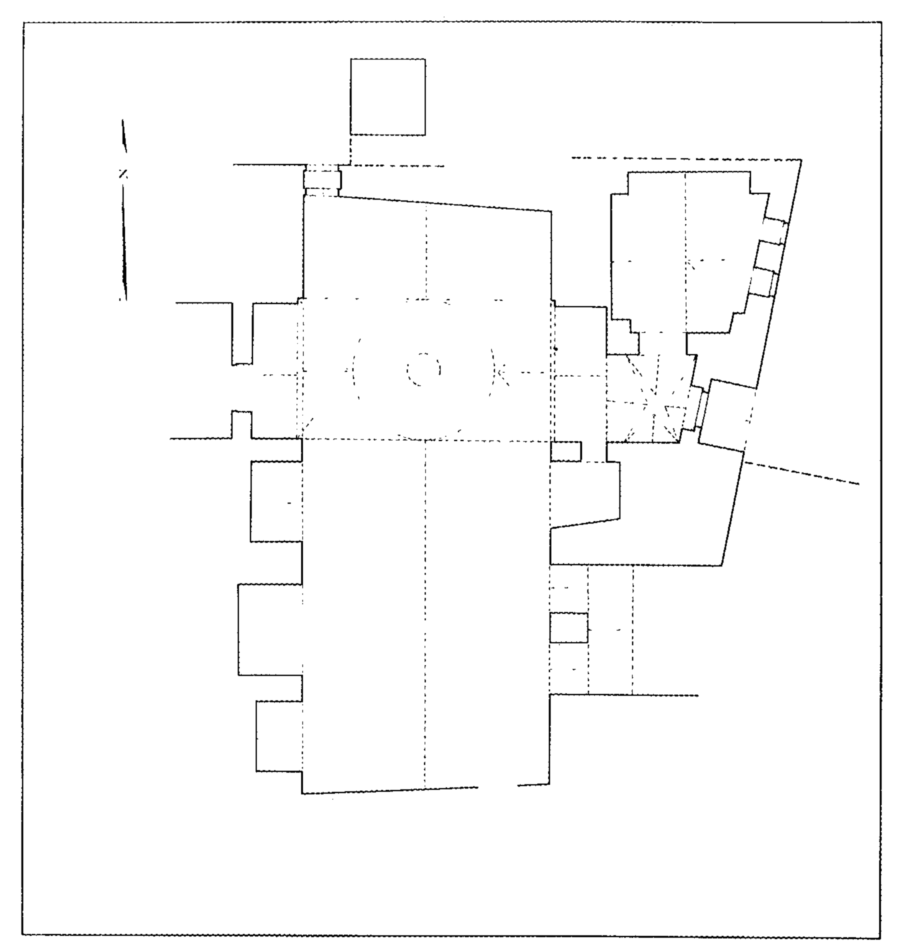


Figure 62 Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār, plan.

The opening of the door is spanned by a simple one-stone slab lintel, topped by a row of decorative ablaq just below the founding inscription, above which is a square polychrome plaque; the whole is crowned by a muqarnas niche. The course of ablaq, of the elaborate fleur-de-lys variety, runs the width of the opening above the lintel. The square plaque of polychrome marble (figs. 56 and 59) is a masterpiece of craftsmanship and the focal point of the portal. It consists of an inner circle of deep red marble surrounded by a stone carved palmette motif, enclosed in turn by a plain band of marble. This circle forms the core from which radiates and toward which converges a complex system of double interlocking bands studded with fleurs-de-lys pointing like arrows toward the inside circle and the outer square. This decorative plaque is set in a stone frame on the wall above the door and below the muqarnas niche.

The crowning muqarnas niche (fig. 60) consists of four rows of a muqarnas motif, running on the three sides of the inner portal and surmounted by a plain yet powerful half-dome. The first row consists of two corner niches with a shell half-dome flanked by two double-arched motifs; at the center of this row and at the two ends toward the exterior are plaques of a complex carved star-shaped Mamluk motif. The second row consists of central and side double arches with a corner stalactite; the third row alternates plain crossed double arches with stalactite double arches. Finally, the top row consists of narrower alternating flat and concave trilobed arches, the concave motif crowning the flat double arches of the lower row. The effect is of a rich and very well built stone muqarnas zone between the flat wall below and the half-dome above.

The western door (fig. 58) is clearly the side door to a mosque, but it still stands out from its surroundings by three horizontal rows of muqarnas above the lintel to suggest that it leads into some special place. The lowest row has wide arches; the second row has a simple attempt at stalactites; and the top row uses a simple scale motif. Since this wall of the building has been repaired and replastered many times, it is hard to tell whether or not what we now see is complete (which could well be the case) or whether it was once more highly decorated. The architect Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ was in any case proud enough of it to sign it, as we have seen.

The third distinguishing element, the minaret (fig. 61), is a true landmark. A square tower of sandstone, it is considered one of the most important minarets in the city The square shaft has two rows of horizontal molding that divide it into three parts opened at irregular intervals by small, star-shaped windows. The shaft is topped by a slightly wider cubical unit which rests on a muqarnas frieze above four en-

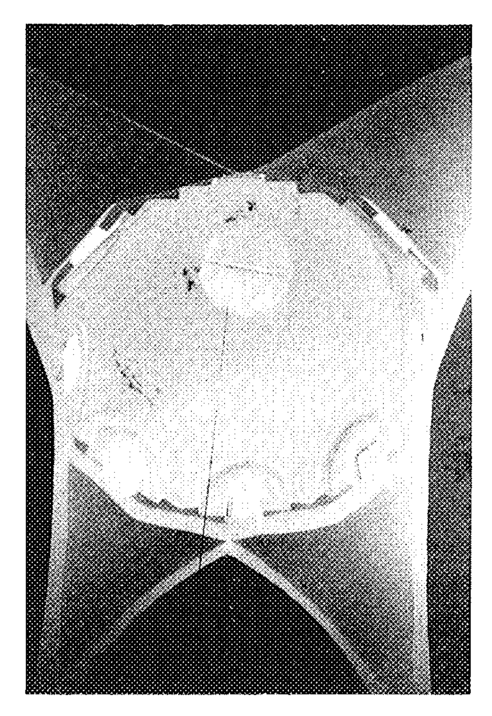


Figure 63. Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, central dome, interior.

gaged colonnettes. It is open on each of its four sides by a double arched window divided by a central column and is topped by a balcony with four corner knobs. A later addition to the minaret is an octagonal shaft covered by a conical dome.

From even a cursory glance at the plan[85] of the Jami' al-'Aṭṭār (fig. 62), it is apparent that the interior of the structure bears no resemblance to any common or even known mosque type. Essentially it is a long rectangular space (about 22 by 14 meters) with openings onto it. The main entrance follows the street line and is set at a slight angle to the mosque. The gate leads into an almost square entrance with cross-vaulting, which in turn leads into a prayer hall; a door on the north side leads into a large, almost square ablution room.

The central prayer area is rectangular and is covered by a simple long vault, except for the axis between the main eastern portal and the side western entrance which is more elaborately covered with a central high dome (fig. 63) flanked by two vaulted areas. The dome has a cupola with a central octagonal opening, resting on an octagonal zone of

[85] The plan is not very accurate in its details, though it adequately shows the general layout of the building. The windows, for example, are not indicated on it.

transition with eight windows set in double frames; this transition area rests on four plain pendentives placed between the vaulted areas.

The western side of the rectangular hall has three three-sided, simple vaulted iwan-like rooms opening onto it. The central one is the largest of the three and gives access to the outside through an arch of thick masonry.

The eastern side has only one iwan-like room and two windows opening onto a garden. The three western iwans and the eastern one must be the "four platforms" mentioned by al-Nābulsī in 1700: "In this mosque, there are four platforms [*suffah*]; each platform has its own teacher, who receives a salary provided for by the waqf of the mosque."[86]

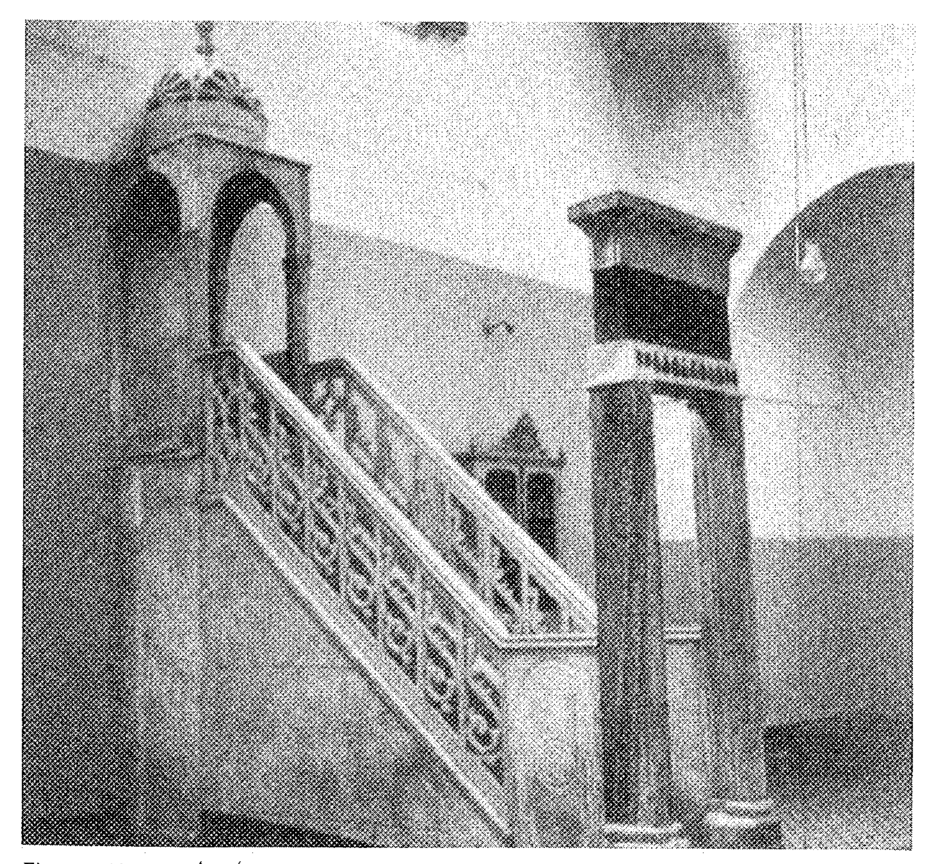


Figure 64. Jami' al-'Aṭṭār, minbar.

[86] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p 72:

وفى هذا الجامع اربع صفف ،كل صفة لها مدرس،له معلوم يتناوله من وقف الجامع.

The plan is certainly not a typical four-iwan arrangement, and the building's function was clearly that of a mosque and not a madrasah. On the other hand, since the teachers' wages were provided by the waqf, teaching must have gone on in the mosque from the very beginning. Unfortunately, whether the four teachers belonged to the four schools of Islamic thought, or, more likely, to the same school, is unknown. The provision of a teaching endowment suggests that the benefactor intended to establish Sunni Islam in a city that had been Christian and in a building that had been a church. The piety that led to its transformation would also naturally have led to provisions for instruction as a means of strengthening the new faith. No source earlier than 1700[87] refers to the building as a former church, but its plan certainly makes it likely. The building was not conceived as a mosque, but rather modified to perform that function.

The internal arrangement has other unusual elements. The mihrab, for instance, is a simple niche—that is, set, not in the middle of the qiblah wall, but to one side. The room for ablutions, a Muslim requirement, is clearly an addition, as is the entrance. The minbar, a built-in white marble structure,[88] is believed to incorporate the baptismal font left over from the church (fig. 64).[89] Again, we are clearly dealing with an earlier building, probably a Crusaders' church, that was transformed into a mosque in 1350, with Master Ibrāhīm the architect contributing a new and fine portal and the minbar, and the well-known architect Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ constructing the eastern door.

Selected Reading

Al-Dawadārī, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, p. 391; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6:54; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p. 72; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 413-15; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 104-7, Inscriptions 46–47; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 190–201; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 422-23.

JAMIʿ ARGHŪN SHĀH

Built about A D 1394–98 by Amir Arghūn Shāh, governor of Tripoli.

[87] For the origin of the mosque as a church, see ibid , p. 172, and Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 54.

[88] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 200, gives a description of the minbar and a text for its inscriptions.

[89] Ibid , p 194

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, on the street known as Ṣaff al-Bilāt, to the south of the Saqraqiyyah and Khātūniyyah. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 27.

History and Inscriptions

Known locally as the Jami' al-Ghanshah, undoubtedly the mosque is named for Amir Arghūn Shāh,[90] governor of Tripoli from 1394 to 1398. It does not carry a founding inscription, but does have, carved on the lintel above the door, a decree of A H. 880/A D 1475 concerning the waqf of agricultural land. It consists of four lines of naskh (fig. 65) and reads:[91]

الحمد لله لما كان بتاريخ خامس عشر جمادى الآخرة سنة ثمانين وثمانمائه ورد مرسوم شريف
مربع جيشى من الابواب الشريفة السلطان الملك الاشرف قائتباى خلد الله ملكه بان جهات
وقف المرحوم ارغون شا بالسقى بطرابلس المحروسة لا تؤجر لا لمتجوه ولا ذى شوكه واجهسار
الندا لزراع الاراضى بالحماية والرعاية ومنع من يعارضهم حسب ما شرط به الوقف فى كتابه
وتسليم الاراضى للسيد الحسيب النسيب السيد نور الدين محمود الحسينى الادهمى
الناظر والشيخ لبها بالزاوية المذكورة فاشار به المقر الاشرف العالى المولوى السيفيى ازدمر
الاشرفى مولانا ملك الامراء كافل المملكة الطرابلسية اعز الله انصاره ورسم بنقش ذلك على
باب المدرسة حسب ما شرط به الواقف فى كتابه وملعون من يغير من ذلك ويسعى فى تجديده .

The text can be summarized as follows. In A.H 880 (A D. 1475) a royal decree was issued to protect and enforce the waqf of Arghūn Shāh; it stipulated that the lands he had left were to be leased to the public, and to the needy rather than to the rich, and that this was to be carved on the door of the madrasah (also referred to as a zāwiyah in the text). This means that the monument was already standing by 1475 and that Arghūn Shâh was its founder and patron. We know from the history of Ibn al-Furāt that Arghūn Shāh al-Ibrāhīmī became governor of Tripoli in A H 798 (A D. 1394)[92] and remained in office until A.H. 800 (A D 1397), when he was transferred to Aleppo.[93] Therefore this building must have been constructed between 1394 and 1398, the four years of his rule.

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90 About the Mongol origin of the name Arghūn and Arghūn Shāh, see Jean Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamlouks," *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 35

91 Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp 129–30, Inscription 57.

92 Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Costi Zurayk and Nejla Izzedine, 9 vols (Beirut, 1939), 9: 388, 396.

وفى ذى الحجة اخلع السلطان الظاهر على الامير سيف الدين ارغون شاه الابراهيمى نايب
صفد ونقله الى نيابة السلطنة بطرابلس عوضا عن الامير دمرداش المحمدى .
محرم ٧٩٧هـ = ١٣٩٤م استقر ارغون شاه بطرابلس .

93 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li Ma'rifat duwal al-Mulūk*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1970), vol 3 , ed. Sa'id 'Ashūr, p 974 Al-Maqrīzī describes the elaborate funeral provided him for having been a just and kind ruler.

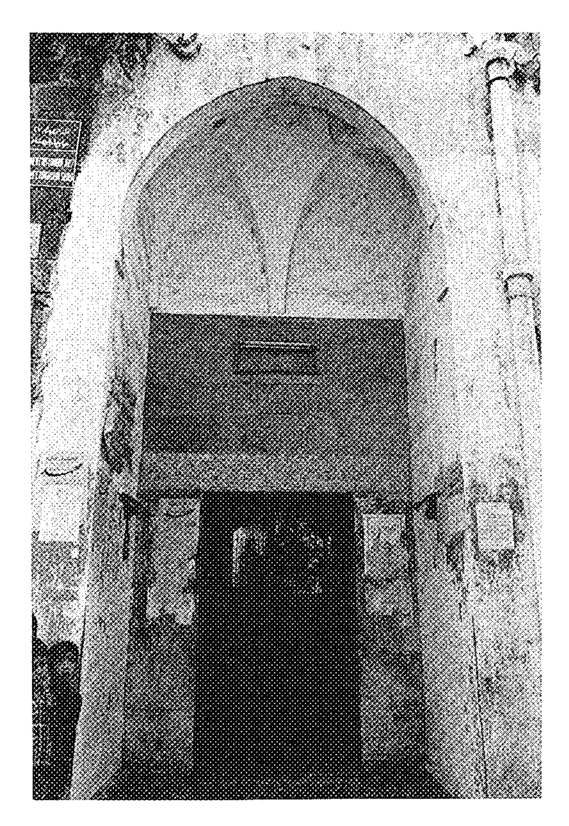


Figure 65 Jamiʿ Arghūn Shāh, main entrance

What the original function of this structure might have been is somewhat obscure. It is regarded today both officially and popularly as a mosque, and was referred to as the jamiʿ of al-Ghanshah as early as 1700 by al-Nābulsī. The inscription calls the building both a zāwiyah and a madrasah, however, so it is possible that the structure was first erected as a place of instruction and only later transformed into a mosque.[94] This could explain the silence of the sources on the subject of Arghūn Shāh's having erected a mosque, for he may in fact have only endowed a zāwiyah. Sometime after 1475, Arghūn Shāh's pious monument was certainly being used as a jamiʿ, however, and it may have been then that the minaret was added. Judging from its style, the minaret is certainly later than 1394–98 and most probably later than 1475.

Description

From the outside, the street façade, the main portal, and the minaret (fig. 66) are all clearly visible; they are simple but at the same time rather

[94] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 218, 222

special. The two-story façade is built of cut stone and opens to the outside by three sets of double windows below and three simple windows above: both levels are on the same axis. The lower windows are surrounded by alternating black and white stones, and each set of two windows is topped by a course of joggled black and white stones of various sizes.

Next to this wall is the main entrance (fig. 65), which consists of a deep archway almost as high as the building and about 1.5 meters deep, with two vaulted units and a central circle at its upper level. The door proper is a simple rectangular opening, above which is the four-line inscription running the width of the wall, topped by a course of joggled ablaq, surmounted by an empty plaque with a cut border. The portal has unfortunately been painted over in white, hiding whatever merit it may have had and emphasizing its separateness from the wall next to it. It is probably an addition to the earlier building, since it is made of a different stone, is not quite of the same height, and leads into a corridor instead of into the mosque proper on its left. It was probably built in 1475, when the waqf decree was promulgated.

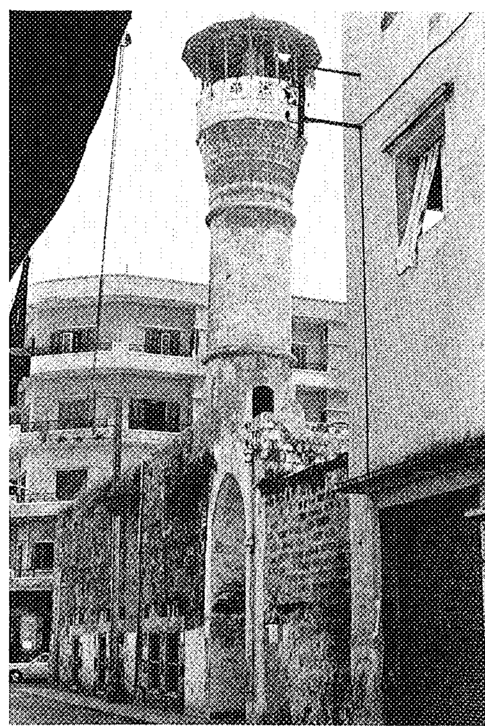


Figure 66. Jami' Arghūn Shāh, façade.

The minaret is the building's most remarkable element (fig. 66). It stands over the original building, next to the entrance. It has a cylindrical shaft of the Ottoman type with two round moldings separating it from the base and the top. The base is cubical with corner triangular buttresses. The top consists of a flat muqarnas level formed by six rows of a fish-scale motif, topped by a ten-sided balcony decorated with plaques of carved stone of varying design. The whole is covered by an umbrella-like wooden structure carrying a metal crescent.

The exterior of the Arghūn Shāh mosque well reflects its three phases of development: the wall belonging to the original zāwiyah-madrasah of 1394–98, the gate to the time of the decree of 1475, and the minaret to the Ottoman period when most likely the madrasah became a jami'.

The interior is fairly simple and provides nothing to contradict the sequence of construction posited. The gate leads through a vaulted corridor to the ablution basin; the mosque itself is entered by a door on the left of this corridor. The squarish prayer hall is a vaulted area with piers of various sizes for support. The qiblah wall has a mihrab at an angle to the wall. The addition of a mihrab, a corridor leading to its entrance, and a minaret has thus clearly transformed a private zāwiyah into a public jami'.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon,* pp. 53–54, photo p. 53; Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām,* 6: 53; Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* pp. 128 ff., Inscription 57; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām,* p. 115; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār,* pp. 217-20; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus,* p. 423.

JAMI' AL-UWAYSĪ (also called the Uwaysiyyah)

Built in A.D 1460–61 by al-Uwaysī; renovated in A.D 1534 by Ḥaydarah.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River on a slope between the Citadel and the suqs below, near the Masjid 'Abd al-Wāḥid and the Qarṭāwiyyah. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 16.

History and Inscriptions

One of the later Mamluk mosques of Tripoli, al-Uwaysī is also one of the least well documented. It carries none of the customary founding inscriptions, but a waqf document tells us that it was built by a Muḥī al-Dīn

al-Uwaysī in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460–61).[95] The mosque has retained his name in both official and popular usage, but we know nothing more either about the building or its founder.

The minaret (fig. 73), however, does have a two-line inscription on a marble plaque set above the door to the balcony, stating that the mosque was renovated in the days of Sultan Sulaymān al-Qânūnī (the Ottoman Suleyman "The Magnificent") in the year A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534) by Ḥaydarah, the amir of the Citadel and of the city. The inscription reads as follows:[96]

عمر فى ايام السلطان سليمان ايام نايب القلعة وطرابلس ٩٤١ الفقير حيدرة حفظه الله فى
كل حال .

Built in the days of Sultan Sulaymān, in the days of the governor [*nayib*] of the Citadel and of Tripoli, 941 Ḥaydarah, may God protect him at all times.

Description

The Uwaysiyyah mosque is situated on the right side of one of the narrow streets that descend from the Citadel. While the minaret and the dome are visible from a distance, the mosque is not readily identifiable from the street. It is entered through an alley that runs off at an angle (fig. 67) and leads to an inner courtyard and the mosque proper. There the mosque is properly oriented and has a façade on the court. Obviously by the time al-Uwaysī built his mosque, the city had already become crowded; the builder could have neither a full street location nor a correct orientation toward Mecca from the street, so he had to resort to this alley tactic. The simple inner façade on its marble-paved courtyard (fig. 68) consists chiefly of the large axial entrance to the mosque and a mihrab for outside prayer.

The building has no elaborate façade on the street. It is entered through a rectangular opening placed in a large frame that sets the entrance off from the rest of the wall. The frame has a border of knotted interlace with a rectangular projection at the lintel level. Above the door is a horizontal rectangular plaque formed by an inlayed border of marble with a positive-negative pattern pointing inward, very likely the place intended for the founding inscription that was never made. Just to the

[95] A waqf document mentioned by Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p 416; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6:54; and also by Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār* (after al-Jisr), p. 230 Neither Tadmurī nor I were able to see the document Unesco, p 12, no 28, gives the name of "Abdul-Hay" al-Uwaysī and date of 1461, but provides no references.

[96] Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 54, and Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp 416–17, give the information Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 232, gives the actual inscription and biographical notes of Sulaymān and Ḥaydarah.

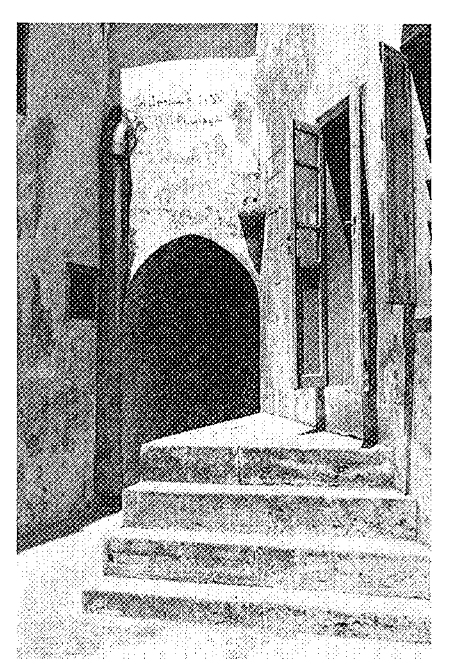


Figure 67. Jami' al-Uwaysī, archway leading to mosque.

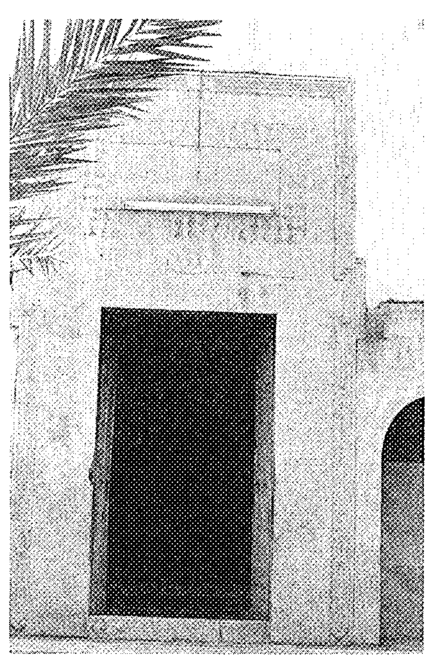


Figure 68. Jami' al-Uwaysī, façade on courtyard.

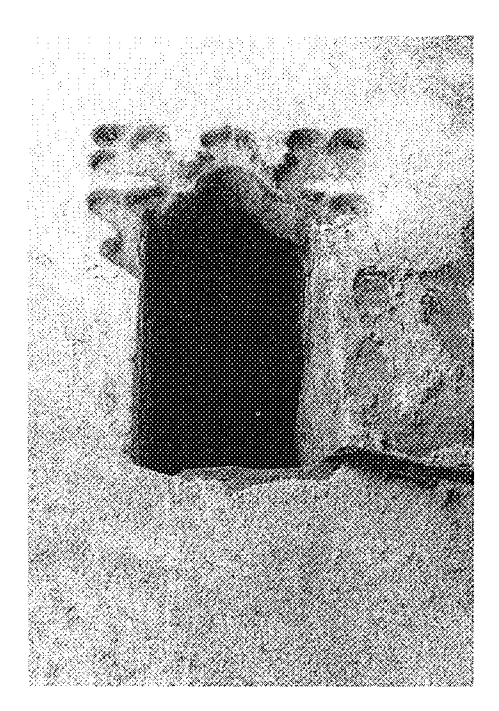


Figure 69. Jami' al-Uwaysī, window on façade wall.

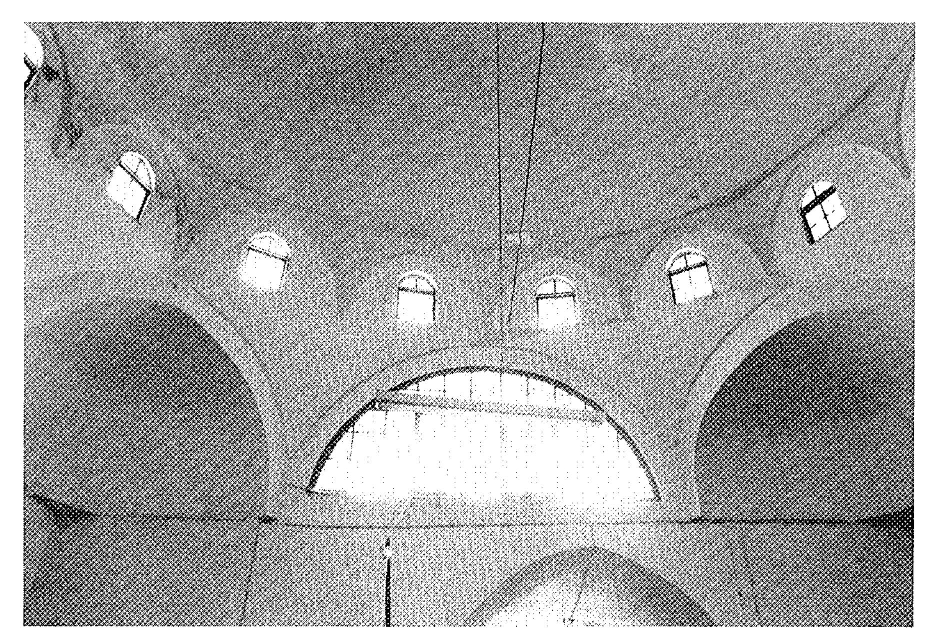


Figure 70 Jamiʿ al-Uwaysī, central dome, interior.

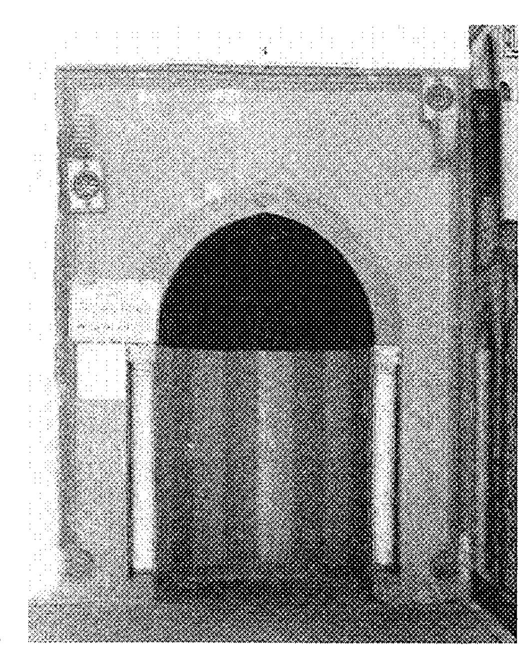


Figure 71 Jamiʿ al-Uwaysī, mihrab.

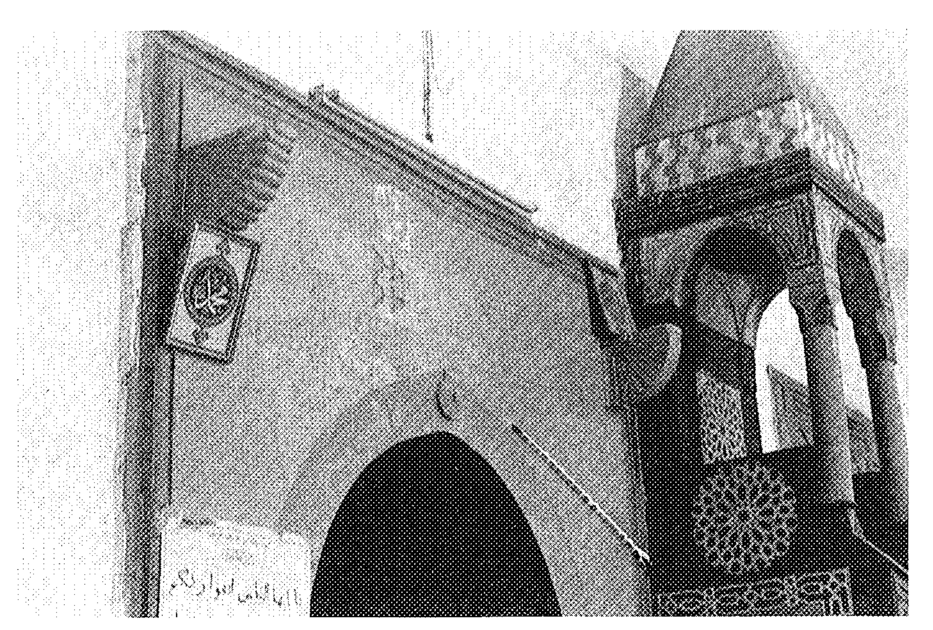


Figure 72. Jami' al-Uwaysī, mihrab and minbar.

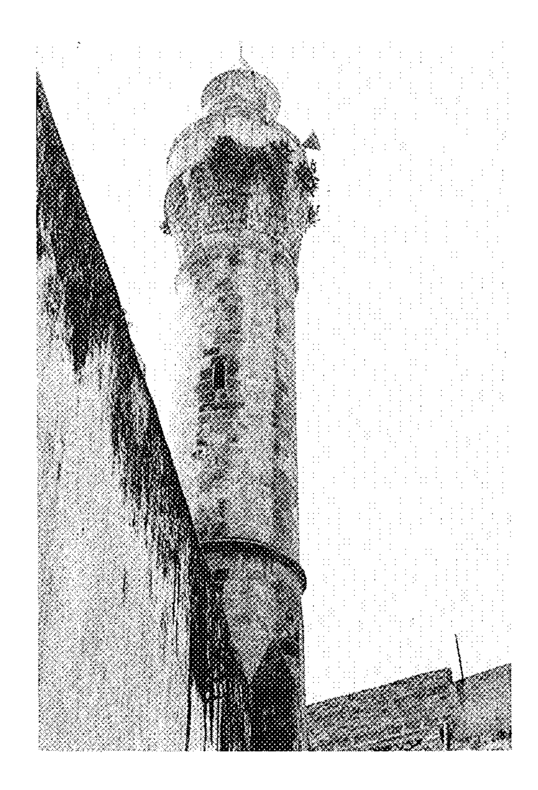


Figure 73 Jami' al-Uwaysī, minaret

right of this entrance is an outside mihrab topped by a row of fish-scale motif containing various decorations at the door level. This façade also has a small window (fig. 69), whose opening is decorated by a floriated stucco trefoil motif reminiscent of Andalusian windows.[97]

The floor plan of the Uwaysiyyah is simple. It consists of two rooms, both with mihrabs, connected by a small door: a main square prayer room (approximately 10 by 10 meters) covered by a very large dome, and a smaller vaulted room to its right.

The main prayer room has a dome that spans (fig. 70) the whole area and consists of a cupola resting on a sixteen-sided area of arches, each with its own window, which in turn rests on an octagonal area of four open arches and four corner squinches. The breadth of the dome is unusual for its time and gives the impression that a simple domical structure has been blown up to very large proportions. This is particularly noticeable in the four corner squinches that here become large, concave areas. Domes of such a size were only later to become popular in Ottoman architecture.

The mihrab on the qiblah wall (figs. 71 and 72) is a plain niche with reused marble colonnettes with capitals at each side, set in a rectangular frame. The frame consists of a simple carved stone molding on its three sides, ending at the bottom with a circle on each side, as on the façade of the Qādiriyyah.

Above the mihrab and within the frame are two fan-like projections (fig. 72), which according to local tradition are supports for a wooden shelf that once held oil lamps. In between these fan projections the central stone of that course of masonry is decorated on its two ends by a low relief of a fleur-de-lys pattern. The stone above the mihrab, like the stone above the door, has no inscription.

The built-in stone minbar is set to the right of the mihrab. It is heavily decorated—the most decorated element in the mosque—with interlace and star-shaped ablaq patterns over its entire surface. Whether it is contemporary with the structure or a later addition is unknown.

Finally, the Ottoman minaret (fig. 73) is a tall, cylindrical shaft (Mamluk minarets are either square or octagonal), resting on triangular buttresses. It has a circular balcony, wider than the shaft and resting on a band of muqarnas which looks like superimposed rows of fish scale. From the balcony rises a small, cylindrical shaft with a conical dome resting on two rows of fish scale.

[97] Cf the blind windows on the third level of the minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo (1296)

Selected Reading

Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* 6: 54; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p. 11; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 416-17; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 230-34; Unesco, no. 28, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 423.

JAMIʿ AL-ṬAḤḤĀN

Fifteenth century; precise date and founder unknown.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the middle of the Perfumer's Suq (al-ʿAṭṭārīn). *Tripoli*, Monument no. 28.

History and Inscriptions

This mosque is popularly known in Tripoli as the Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān, or "Miller's Mosque." The lack of both founding inscription and literary evidence makes the name and the date of construction for this monument a subject of controversy.[98] A version of the name, al-Ṭaḥḥāl, ending with



Figure 74. Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān, view from a distance

[98] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp 236–37, gives a summary of the various names and dates that have been proposed.

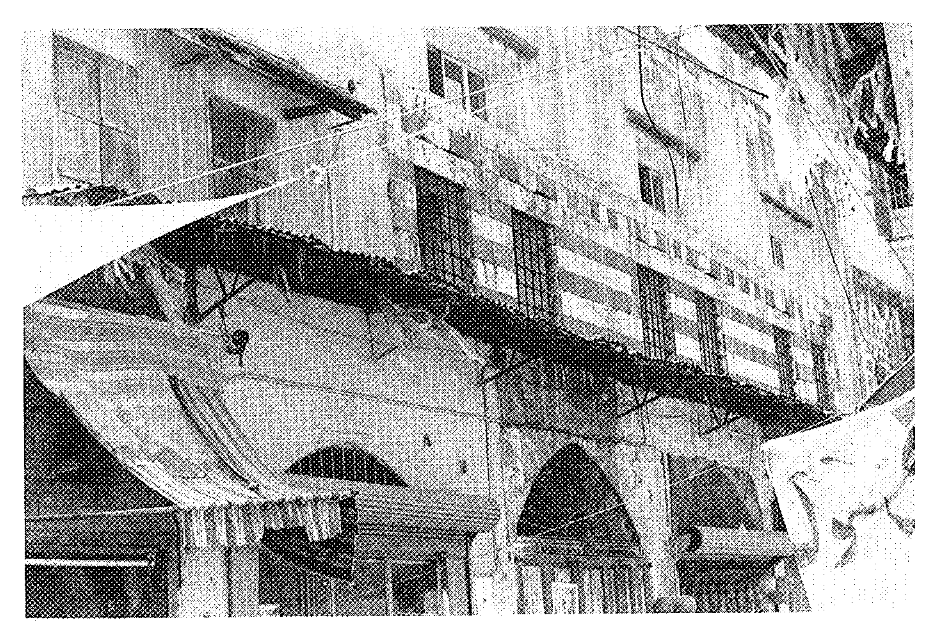


Figure 75. Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān, street façade

an *l* rather than an *n*, can be found in al-Nābulsī's *Riḥlah*;[99] Salem and the Unesco report use yet another variant, al-Ṭaḥḥam, with an *m*,[100] and Tadmurī uses the *m* as well, though without citing any evidence in its favor. Al-Ṭaḥḥām means "the courageous one," "the one who attacks in battles," and Tadmurī finds this to be a more plausible role for the founder of the mosque than being a miller.[101] So long as there is no evidence to the contrary, however, the popularly accepted local name at least has the argument of tradition on its side, and in fact there is no reason why a miller should not have endowed a mosque. Why accept a perfumer and not a miller? The history of Islamic architecture is replete with examples of middle-class merchants and people of all professions having endowed mosques which are subsequently named after them.

The date and benefactor's name are also sources for speculation. Salem proposes a date of A.H 967 (A D 1564) and the name of Maḥmūd Lutfī al-Za'īm—but he confuses this mosque with another in Tripoli, the al-Mu'allaq. Bruce Condé argues for Amir Yūnis al-Ma'nī, younger brother of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī II, A.H 1050 (A.D. 1641) and refers to the minaret as "the prince's minaret." Kamel al-Bābā favors a Mamluk amir

[99] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p 72.

[100] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 417; Paul Collart et al , *La ville de Tripoli et son développement* (Paris: Unesco, 1954), p. 13.

[101] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p 236

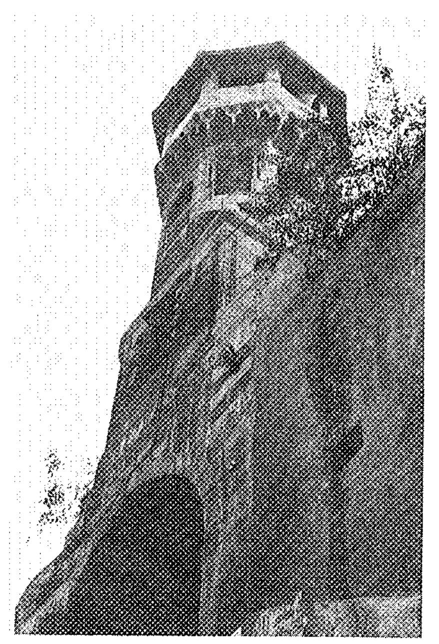


Figure 76 Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān, minaret over entrance.



Figure 77. Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān, minaret from the west.

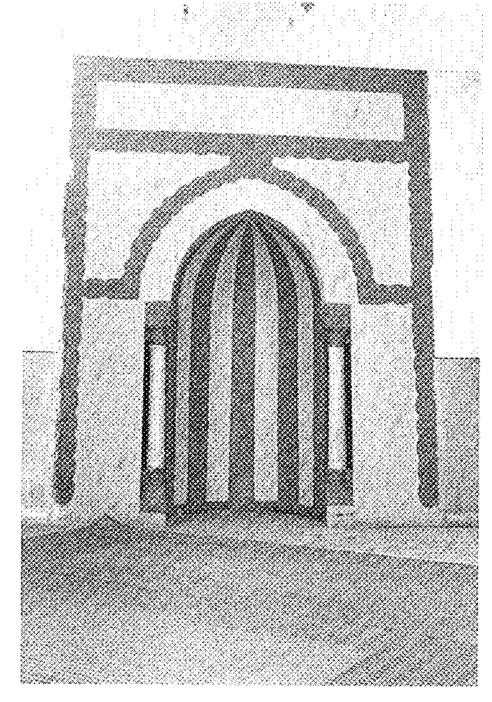


Figure 78. Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān, mihrab

by the name of Yūnis Bahadar.[102] But none of these authors provide any evidence to support their claims. Until further evidence turns up, we can only say that the mosque should most likely be called Ṭahḥān—with an *n*—and that it was built by an unknown benefactor at an unknown date, but possibly toward the end of Mamluk rule in the city.[103]

Description

The Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān is on the second story, built over a series of shops (fig. 75), and is entered through a corner alley. Although mosques built over commercial establishments are not very common, neither are they totally unknown (the most famous example is the Mosque of Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī [A.D 1160] in Cairo).[104] They were usually built by donors who could not afford a free-standing monument: combining commercial income-producing shops below with a religious building above to demonstrate their piety was a practical solution.

In today's Tripoli, the Miller's Mosque is hardly noticeable even when one walks right in front of it. The minaret is not very high and is by now dwarfed by surrounding structures (fig. 74), and the street side of the mosque is obstructed by vendors' awnings and other shade-providing devices (fig. 75). But the mosque can be differentiated from the rest of the building of which it forms a part. The mosque level is built of cut stone arranged in alternate layers of black and white, with the top layer consisting of alternating black and white stones framed by a row of fish-scale motif with decorated hoods. The street wall is opened by an organized system of four sets of rectangular double windows (the last two have recently been plastered over). At right angles to the street façade is the façade proper of the mosque, also built in alternate layers of black and white stone. A flight of stairs leads to a large and deeply arched entrance topped by the minaret (fig. 76).

The minaret (fig. 77) is certainly the focal point of the Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān. Its main parts are, first, a square shaft with engaged plaited colonnettes rising above the entrance at its corners; then, an octagonal shaft resting on four triangular buttresses and containing four opened, arched windows alternating with four blind niches with colonnettes; and finally an octagonal gallery-like structure resting on a complex stalactite muqarnas and covered by a peculiar octagonal-pyramidical roofing, which crowns the whole.

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[102] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p 417; Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp 66-69; Kamel al-Bābā, *Nabthah*, p. 8.

[103] The type and style of both construction and decoration favor a late Mamluk dating

[104] Creswell, *MAE* 1: 275–88

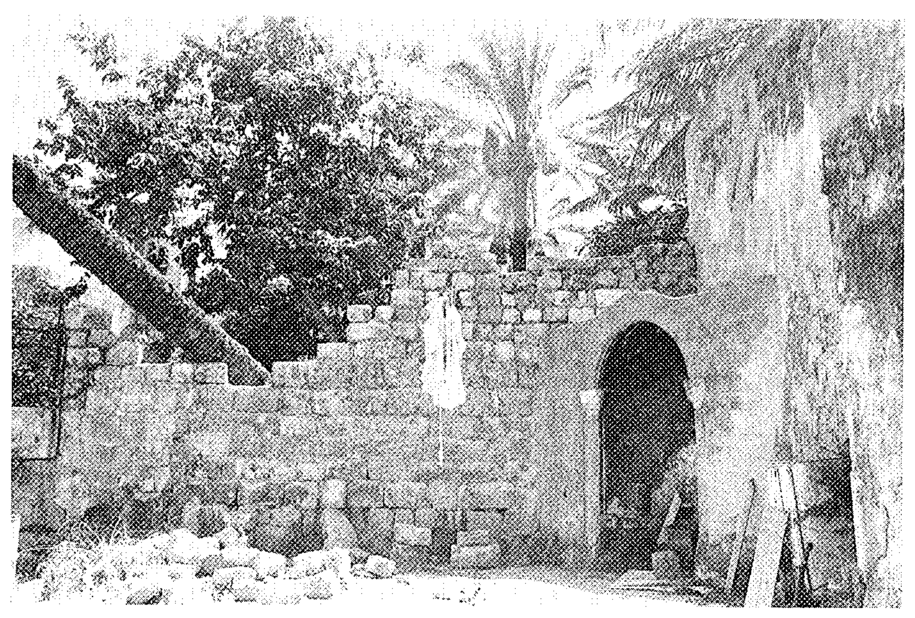


Figure 79. Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān, outdoor mihrab on roof.

Considering the size of the minaret and the otherwise simple structure which it adorns, the amount and quality of its decoration is striking and clearly the result of a consciously planned effort to impress. Its square and octagonal shaft, buttresses, muqarnas, beautifully carved engaged plaited colonnettes, blind niches, and carved stone plaques wherever space permits provide a veritable catalog of the decorative themes of its time. This richness of the decorative vocabulary strengthens the theory of its later Mamluk dating.

The interior is a simple affair. A square room of about 15 by 15 meters, it is divided into nine vaulted areas by two pairs of reused columns with capitals. In the middle of the qiblah wall stands a minbar; in a corner and at an angle to the wall (fig. 78) is the mihrab. Evidently the building followed the street line, and the mihrab had to be adjusted to orient it in the correct direction for prayer. Aside from the reused columns, the mihrab is the only decorated element in the interior. A band of knotted motif frames the mihrab and emphasizes the usual mihrab features. Two reused colonnettes with capitals are set on either side of the niche; the whole mihrab corner is painted in a marbled effect with blue trimmings.

The roof of the mosque must have been used for outdoor prayer in summer, for it, too, has a corner mihrab with reused capitals (fig. 79).

The Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān provides a good example of a mosque built under bourgeois patronage. Because it was built on the first floor over shops in a crowded city, it could not be oriented correctly and this resulted in a corner mihrab that is somewhat askew. The minaret is the only element visible from the outside, and it bears almost all the decoration to be found in this simple structure. Its repertory of decorative elements makes it the only noticeable part of this otherwise inconspicuous building.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 66; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 417; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 236; Unesco, p. 13.

JAMI' AL-TAWBAH

Fourteenth century (?); precise date and founder unknown; restored in AD 1612 by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sharabadārī al-Anṣārī.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, close to the Jisr al-Jadīd in the tanners' quarter. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 22.

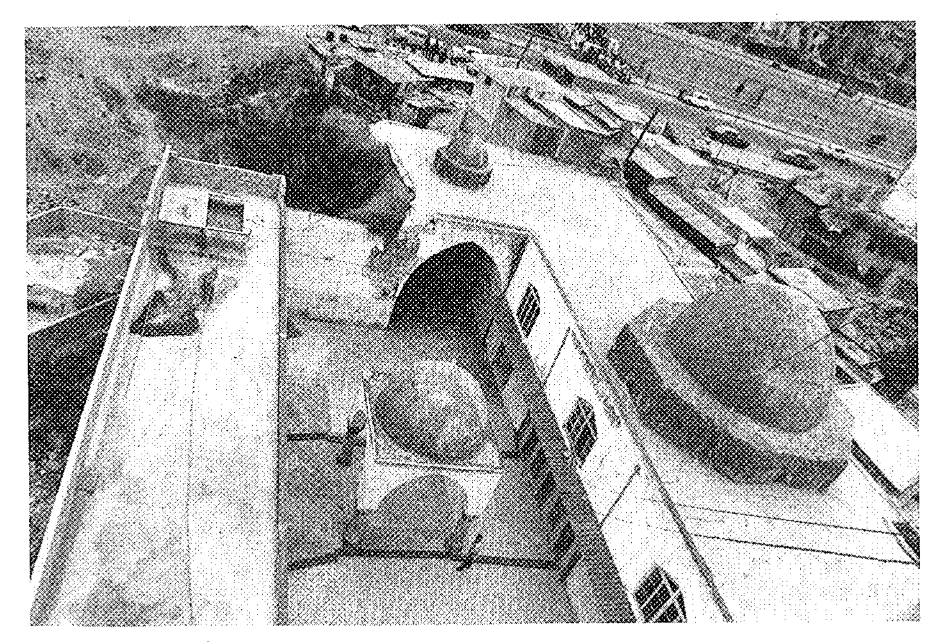


Figure 80. Jami' al-Tawbah, view.

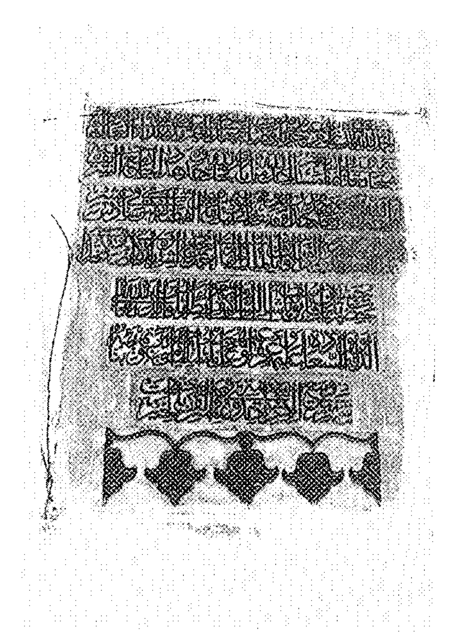


Figure 81. Jami' al-Tawbah, inscription on northeast entrance

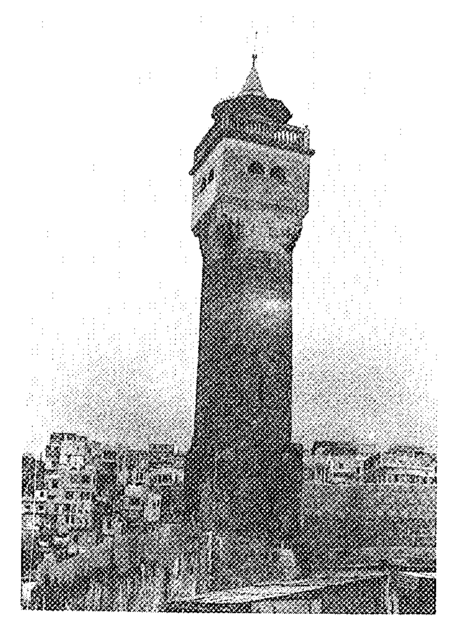


Figure 82 Jami' al-Tawbah, minaret.



Figure 83. Jami' al-Tawbah, vaulting over entrance corridor.

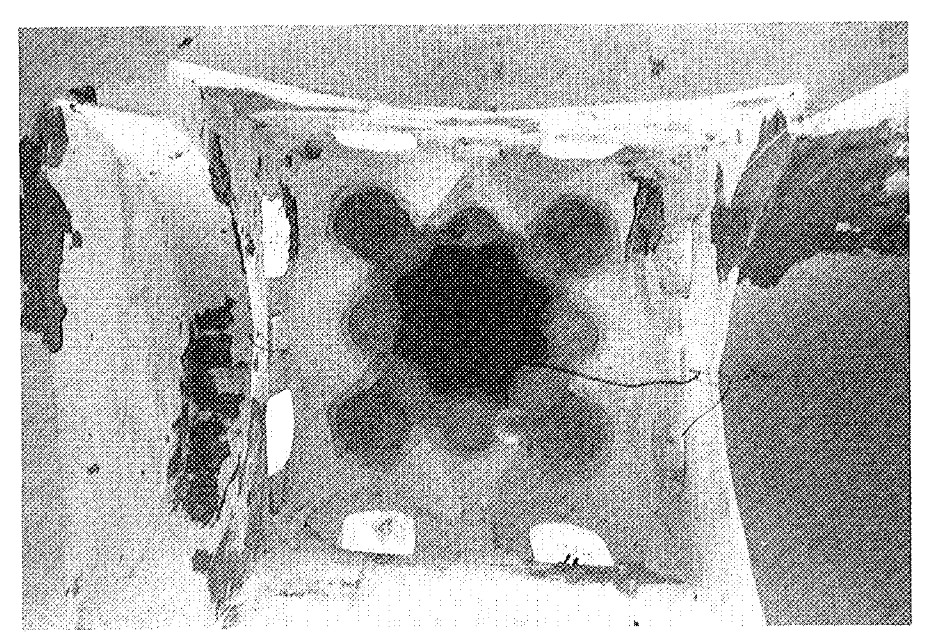


Figure 84 Jami' al-Tawbah, dome at end of entrance corridor

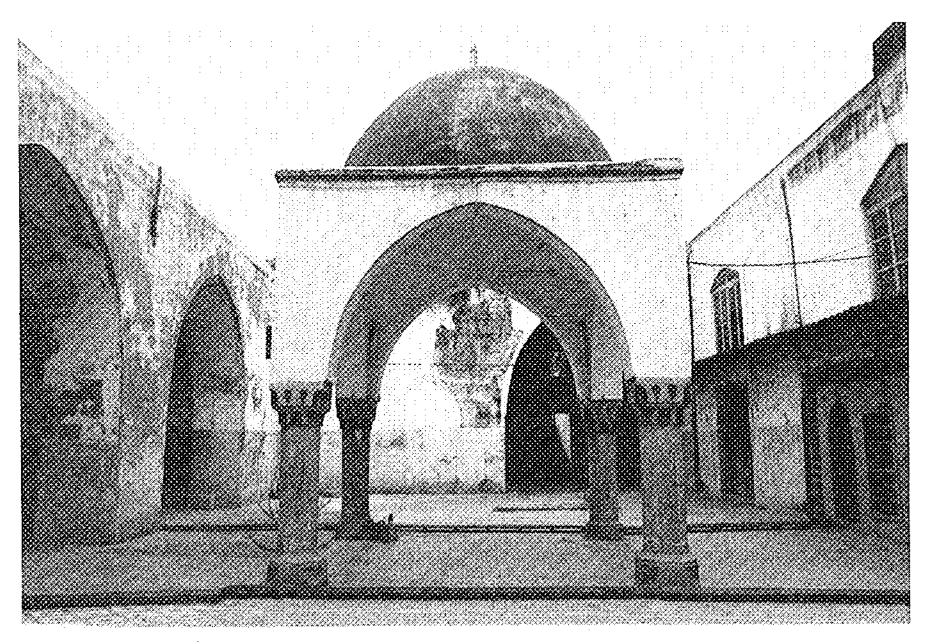


Figure 85. Jami' al-Tawbah, courtyard

History and Inscriptions

The Jamiʿ al-Tawbah (Mosque of Repentance) closely resembles the Great Mosque in layout and other architectural elements (fig. 80), but it has no founding inscription so its exact date of construction is unknown. Since the mosque is located on the river bank and has therefore often suffered from high water, it is likely that its founding inscription once did exist but has since been carried off in one of the floods. The inscription on the northeast entrance to the mosque testifies to its rebuilding in June 1612 after it had been badly damaged by the flood of the previous January 20. It is a bronze plaque containing seven lines of naskh (fig. 81) which read as follows:[105]

الحمد لله الذى من على عبده من جزيل فيض فضله ويسر هذا الخير على يده وهداه الى
العمل بقوله سبحانه وتعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله فجد وجدد هذا الجامع
الشريف حسبه لوجه الله الكريم بعد هدم جداره ومنبره ومحرابه وسبيل مائه من الغيضة
الكبرى فى سادس عشر شهر ذى القعدة سنة عشرين بعد الف . الواثق بالملك البارى
احمد ابن محمد الشربدارى الانصارى كتخدارى حضرت حسين باشا ابن يوسف باشا
السيفى امير الامراء بطرابلس ايد الله تعالى الدولة والسعادة عليهم وعفا عنهم وعن
المسلمين اجمعين آمين . وتم بناية فى شهر ربيع الآخر سنة احدى وعشرين والف ختمت
بالخير .

Glory to God who has endowed His servant with the flow of His abundant favors and thereby made this good deed easy for him and guided him into this action—Glory be to Him—by his saying, "Only he shall inhabit God's places of worship who believes in God" [Qurʾan 9:18]; thus was he able to overcome obstacles and renovate this blessed mosque [jamiʿ] for the love of God the Generous, after the destruction of its wall and minbar and mihrab and its water fountain by the great flood of the sixteenth of zū al-Qaʿdah in the year one thousand and twenty [January 20, 1612], he who believes in the creator king, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sharabadārī al-Anṣārī Katkhadāry [under-vizier] of His Excellency Husayn Pasha, son of Yūsuf Pasha al-Sayfī, amir of the amirs in Tripoli, may God bestow on them power and happiness and forgive them and all Muslims Amen. And its construction was completed in the month of Rabiʿ the second in the year one thousand and twenty-one [June 1612], and completed in prosperity.

The dates suggested for the mosque's original construction range over the spectrum, but Tadmurī's argument for a date coinciding with the very foundation of Mamluk Tripoli itself is far and away the most convincing.[106] Kurd ʿAlī, Condé, and Salem also all at least refer to it as a Mamluk building,[107] and only the Unesco report lists it among the

[105] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp 134-35, Inscription no 61

[106] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp 135–38.

[107] Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 53–54; Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 108–9; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p 417

Ottoman buildings of the city.[108] Tadmurī's argument attributes the building to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn's third, and last, sultanate (790–41/1309–40). Although no textual evidence attests to his patronage, Tadmurī has found enough secondary evidence to support it. Al-Qalqashandī, in his great encyclopedic work (1412), refers to the appointment of a *khaṭīb* (preacher) to the al-Tawbah mosque. Since the only other such appointment he mentions was for the Great Mosque, we can infer that al-Tawbah was also a royal mosque, which, like the Great Mosque, needed a royal decree for the *khaṭīb*'s appointment. Al-Qalqashandī also mentions a preacher by the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Khābūrī as having been appointed to al-Tawbah. Ṣadr al-Dīn died in A.H 769 (A D 1367), so we can also infer that the building existed before that date. Al-Qalqashandī calls the mosque "al-Jami' al-Nāṣirī, known as al-Tawbah," which confirms that it was built by an "al-Nāṣir." There were three al-Nāṣirs in Mamluk times, but the only one whose dates correlate is al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn. Finally al-Tawbah shared its waqfs with the Great Mosque. Since the Great Mosque was completed in A H 693 (A D. 1293) and the arcading added by order of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in A.H 1315), the property set as waqf provides an A.H. 693–715 date for al-Tawbah as well.

A folk tale handed down over the centuries, although unprovable, also corroborates this date and provides some information about the character of the building. According to it, the person entrusted with the building of the Great Mosque embezzled most of the funds set aside for it and the building had thus to remain unadorned. When his crime was discovered, he promised to build another mosque by way of repentance,[109] and that is said to be the reason both for the building's name and for its resemblance to the Great Mosque. Curiously, the Mosque of Repentance (Masjid al-Tawbah) in Damascus (built in 1234)[110] was also built to resemble that city's Great Mosque (built in 705), suggesting that repentance somehow involved copying the most important and the holiest local building available.

Description

From the outside the al-Tawbah mosque has no decoration to attract passers-by. An oblong massive building of sandstone, its presence is marked only by an octagonal minaret and three green domes. The minaret (fig. 82), in the northwest corner of the building, consists of an octagonal shaft set on a square base. A square room of more recent

[108] Unesco, p 13.

[109] Ibid , p 138.

[110] For an illustration of the Masjid al-Tawbah in Damascus, see Selim 'Abdul Hak and Khaled Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas* (Damascus: Publications de la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, n.d), p. 79, pl. 25

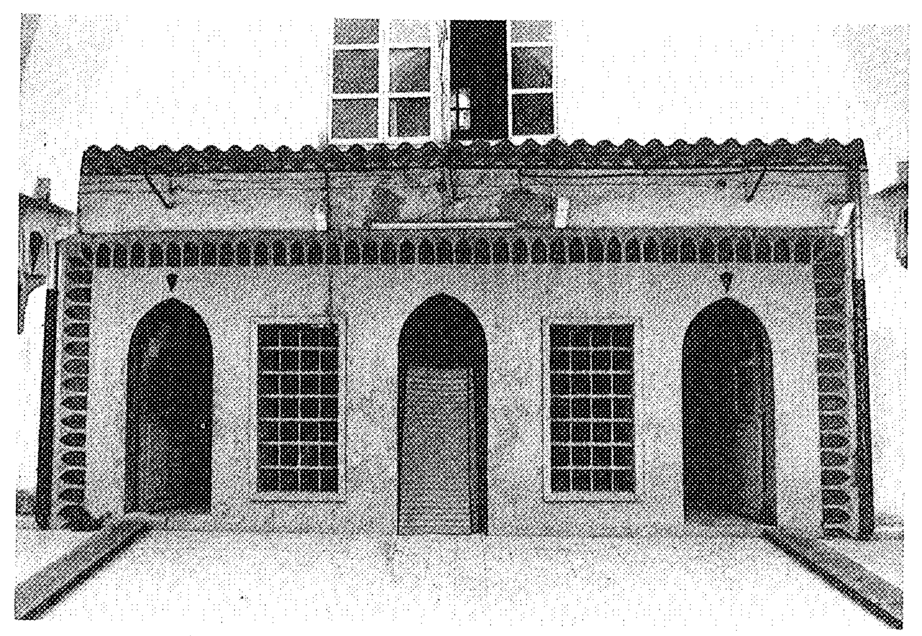


Figure 86. Jami' al-Tawbah, western wall of courtyard.

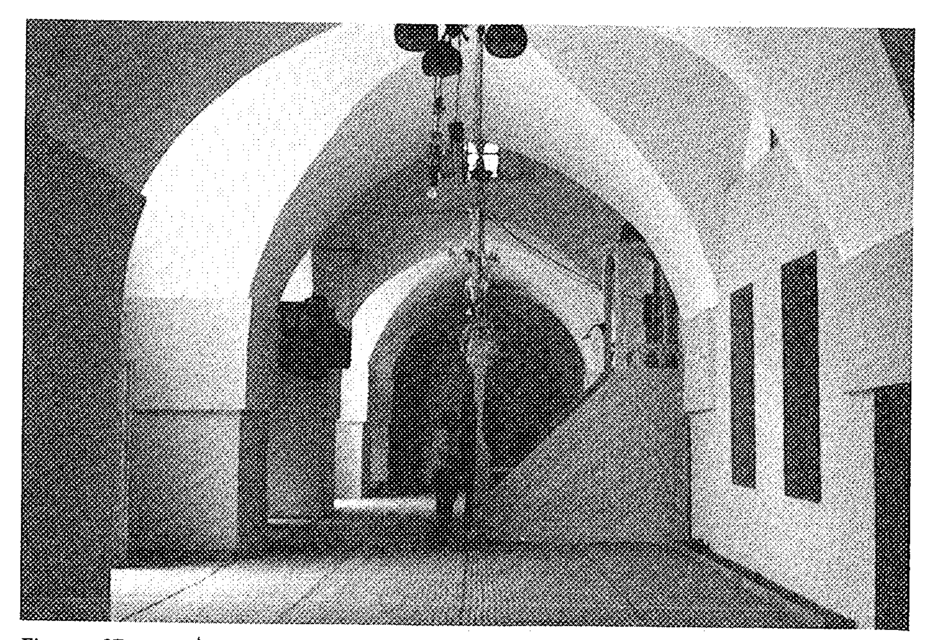


Figure 87. Jami' al-Tawbah, prayer hall.

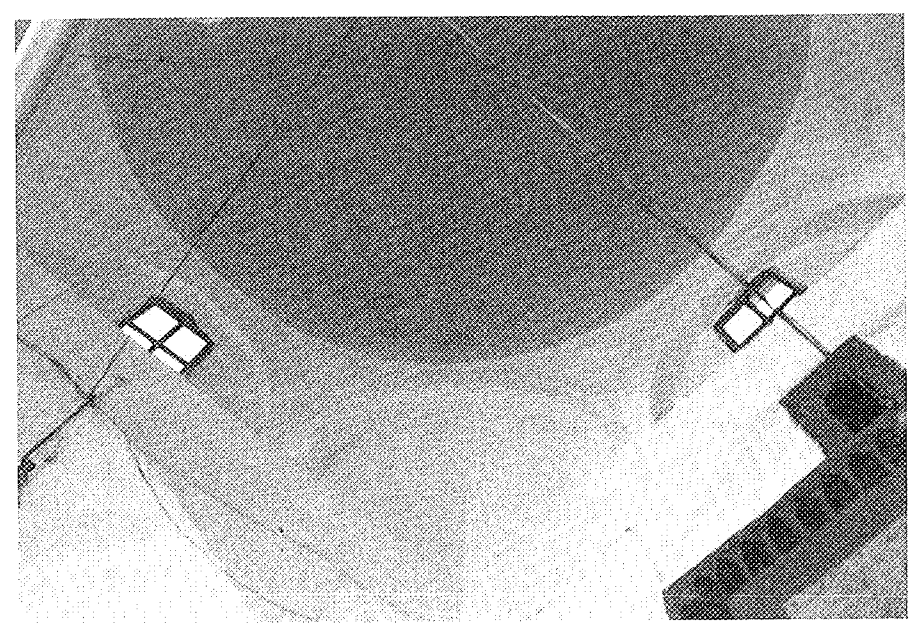


Figure 88 Jami' al-Tawbah, prayer hall, dome over mihrab area

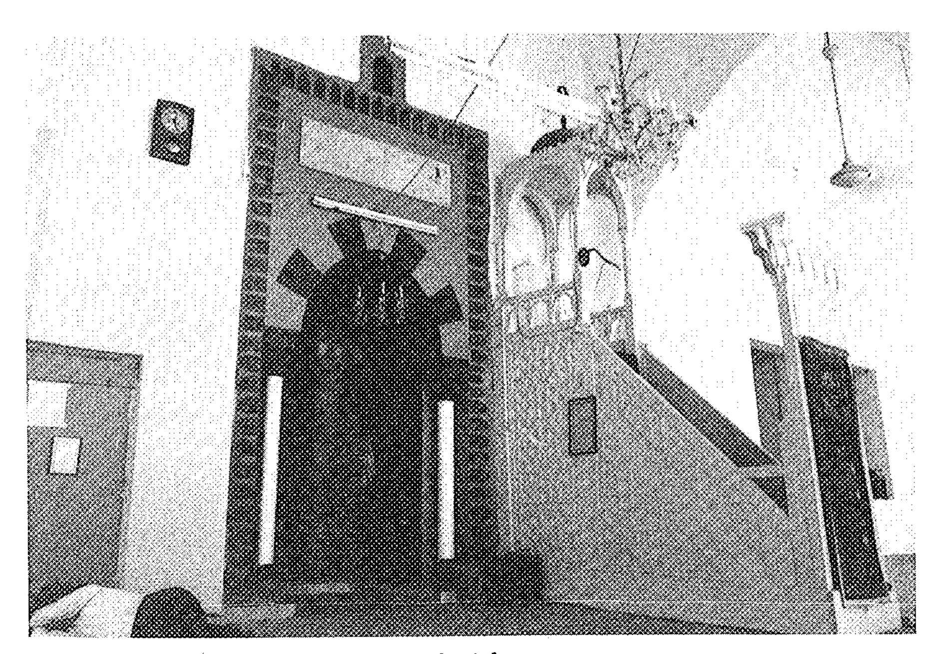


Figure 89 Jami' al-Tawbah, mihrab and minbar

date rests on four muqarnas squinches and is opened by two windows on each of its four sides. It is topped by a balustraded balcony surrounding a short shaft with a conical roof. The large central dome is plain; the two smaller domes are ribbed; all three rest on octagonal zones of transition and have been painted green.

The mosque is entered through an arched door on the southwest corner of the building, a few steps lower than the street level. Inside, a corridor-like area along the western side is covered by two cross-vaults with concave grooves and a central ribbed rosette (fig. 83). At the end of the corridor a rather ornate domed area opens onto the courtyard. The dome has a ribbed cupola with a ribbed rosette in its center resting on an octagonal area that rests in turn on a raised square area opened by two windows on each of its four sides (fig. 84). The vaulting is similar to that found in the vestibule of the al-Mu'ayyad mosque in Cairo (1415–20).[111] From this corridor one enters the rectangular courtyard with a domed structure resting on four columns in its center (figs. 85 and 80). On the south side of the courtyard is the oratory; on the north side, the ablutions area entered by three arcades (fig. 85); on the west side, the entrance corridor opened by two arcades; and on the east side, an iwan-like arched vault (fig. 80) leading to the west entrance on the river side. The oratory wall (fig. 86) contains a simple mihrab niche for outdoor prayers set in a balanced composition of two doors and two windows framed by fish scale with various stylized floral motifs. This composition takes the place of an external façade.

The oratory is a long, rectangular low-vaulted hall (fig. 87), with a simple round dome in its center resting on an octagonal zone with a simple transition of corner arches (fig. 88). The mihrab and minbar are in the center of the qiblah wall (fig. 89). As in the Great Mosque, the qiblah wall has two additional mihrabs on either side of the main mihrab. As the inscription tells us, these date from the reconstruction of 1612. The mihrab is a simple niche with two side colonnettes with muqarnas capitals like those in the courtyard and is set in a rectangular frame with the same stylized fish-scale motifs as the outside mihrab. The minbar, a wooden structure decorated with Mamluk star motifs and a muqarnas entrance, is now painted white.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 108–9, photo p. 109; Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6:53–54; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 134–35, Inscription 61; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 415; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 135–38, photos pp. 353, 355.

[111] Creswell, Photos IV, Ashmolean, Oxford, no. 68.



CHAPTER THREE

Madrasahs

Of the sixteen madrasahs built in Tripoli by the Mamluks (Appendix A) four—the Zurayqiyyah, al-ʿAṭṭār, Rifāʿiyyah, and ʿUmariyyah[1]—are no longer standing and will not be dealt with here. At least eight of the remaining twelve were built within the same sixty or so years between 1310 and 1373. This concentration in the time of construction is paralleled by a concentration of site, the immediate vicinity of the Great Mosque being the most popular spot (Appendix B). Six madrasahs ranging from the earliest (Khayriyyah Ḥasan) to what is probably the latest (the Anonymous Mashhad), from the largest and most impressive (the Qarṭāwiyyah) to the least well known (Shamsiyyah), and including the beautiful Nūriyyah and the little known Nāṣiriyyah, were erected around the Great Mosque. Two are set by the main entrance to the mosque, three across the street, and one adjoining its eastern wall, suggesting that by the fourteenth century madrasahs may no longer have been as much used as before and simply as pious foundations tended to be concentrated around the Great Mosque.

The other madrasahs are scattered around the city, but two of them, the Saqraqiyyah and the Khātūniyyah, face each other. One, the Zurayqiyyah (now destroyed), the earliest madrasah in Tripoli, was built, not near the Great Mosque, but on the right bank of the river, because that was an area developed by the first Mamluk governor of Tripoli.

These madrasahs had a variety of patrons. Five were built by official members of the Mamluk ruling aristocracy: three governors of

[1] *(A)* Madrasah Zurayqiyyah, built in A D. 1298 by ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, then governor of Tripoli (*Tripoli*, Monument no 34); Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, *Syrie du Nord* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 25 [Cairo, 1909]), Inscriptions 35–36; al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967), p. 429; ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār Masājid wa Madāris Ṭarāblus fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Tripoli: Dār al-Bilād, 1974), p. 269; Samīḥ Wajīh al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus Qadīman wa Ḥadīthan* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1969), p. 269; Paul Collart et al., *La ville de Tripoli et son développement historique* (Paris: Unesco, 1954), p. 12, no. 2 (hereafter cited as Unesco). *(B)* Madrasah al-ʿAṭṭār, known as Sibṭ al-ʿAṭṭār (grandchild of al-ʿAṭṭār), mid-fifteenth century; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 124–25, Inscription 54; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp 309–11; *(C)* Madrasah Rifāʿiyyah, built before 1485 (*Tripoli*, Monument no. 36); Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 125–28, Inscription 55, pl. 13; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p 321; Unesco, no. 29, p. 12 *(D)* Madrasah ʿUmariyyah, built by Usindamur al-ʿAnbarī in A D 1466 (*Tripoli*, Monument no 37); Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp 128–29, Inscription 56; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 332; Unesco, p 12.

Tripoli (the Qarṭāwiyyah, by Amir Qaraṭāy; the Khātūniyyah, by Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Ashrafī; and the Zurayqiyyah, by Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mūṣīlī); one chamberlain (the Saqraqiyyah, by Sayf al-Dīn Aqṭurāq); and one sultan (the Nāṣiriyyah, by Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn). Of the remaining madrasahs, two (the Qādiriyyah and the ʿUmariyyah) were associated with religious orders; two (the Khayriyyah Ḥasan and the Khātūniyyah, known after Arghūn Khātūn the slave wife of the governor ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Ashrafī) with women; one (the Ẓāhiriyyah) was built by a bereaved father; and one (the Ṭuwayshiyyah) was built by a eunuch. The patrons of three of the madrasahs (Muḥammad al-Sukkar, Nūr al-Dīn, and Shams al-Dīn al-Mawlawī) were unknown citizens.

Only the Qarṭāwiyyah was built according to a traditional Syrian madrasah plan with a central covered courtyard, three raised iwans, and a prayer area along the qiblah wall. The others all include the tomb of their founder, but otherwise follow a variety of room arrangements with no common pattern, though they almost all include, in addition to a tomb chamber, an entrance area, a prayer hall, and an area for teaching.

MADRASAH KHAYRIYYAH ḤASAN

Built after A.D. 1309 by Khayriyyah Ḥasan, wife of Qaṭlū.

Location

One of the madrasahs surrounding the Great Mosque, the Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan is across the street from the Great Mosque's main entrance to the northwest on a line with, and to the west of, the Madrasah Malik al-Nāṣir and the Madrasah Nūriyyah. It is now used as a storehouse for a mortuary. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 7.

History and Inscriptions

The Khayriyyah Ḥasan is probably the earliest of the madrasahs built around the Great Mosque, but neither its inscription nor the literature reveal Khayriyyah Ḥasan's identity or when she lived. The inscription set above the door (fig. 90) on a squarish slab of stone contains six lines of naskh and reads as follows:[2]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وقفت جهة المرحوم قطلو المصبنة والمعصرة والربع فوق المعصرة
وخمس قراريط وربع بطاحون الداودية والسند مرية بارض كفر قاهل والبستان ظاهر طرابلس
وثلاث قراريط ونصف بسوق اسندمر وثلث الدير يعرف بارض اصنون ومسكبة زيتون والقاعة
والبحرة والطبقة جوار المدرسة ونصف طاحون الجديدة بمردات وكرم زيتون فى بطرام
وطبقة ومخزن بقيسارية الافرنج .

[2] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 136, Inscription 62, pl 15

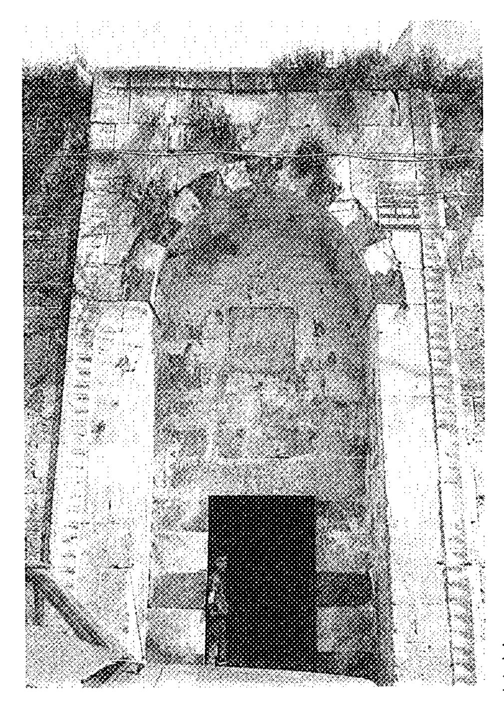


Figure 90. Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan, portal.

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the wife of the late Qaṭlū has constituted as waqf the soap factory and the oil press, the story above the mill, four carats and one quarter of the mill in Dāwūdīyyah and Usindamiyyah in the land of Kafr Qāhil, and the garden outside Tripoli and three carats and one half in the suq of Usindamur and the third of the convent known as land of Aṣnūn, and a grove of olive trees, and the courtyard, the fountain and the room by the madrasah, and half of the new mill at ʿArdāt, an orchard of olive trees at Buturām and a room and a shop in the warehouse [*qayṣariyyah*] of the Franks.

About all this tells us is that the madrasah was very well endowed,[3] since although it does not say so, the revenues from these properties were to pay for the upkeep of the building and support the teacher. As for the lady who provided this endowment, we know nothing about her, not even her name. We only know she was the "wife of Qaṭlū," but since Qaṭlū is a common first name there is no way of tracing her further.[4] Since the traditional name is Khayriyyah Ḥasan, however, it is fairly safe to assume that this was also the name of its obscure benefactress.

[3] Ibid., pp 424–25, where Sobernheim locates and discusses the properties mentioned

[4] Ibid.

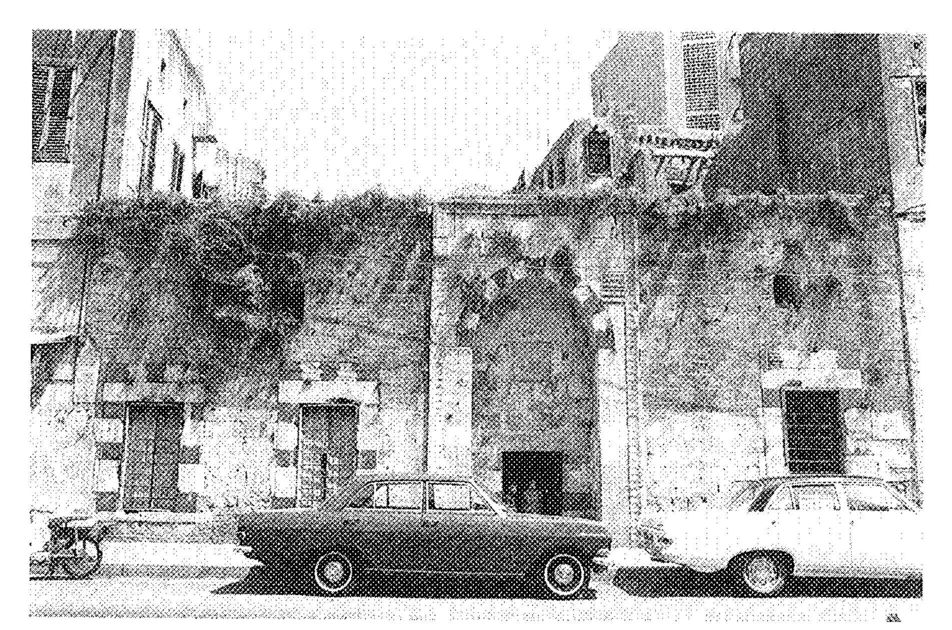


Figure 91. Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan, façade

It is possible to infer from the inscription a date after A.H. 709 (A D 1308), since the endowment includes land and property named after Usindamur, who was governor of Tripoli until 1308,[5] and it is unlikely that a suq would have been named after him until his rule had ended.

Description

The Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan is essentially a three-room building arranged longitudinally, with a façade on the street running the length of the structure and reflecting the building behind it (fig. 91). It is a simple, organized façade of sandstone that uses openings (windows and a door) as elements for emphasis and decoration (fig. 91 and elevation in fig. 92).

The entrance is centrally set and provides a focus for the façade. A rectangle the height of the building, it is framed by a plain fish-scale motif and opened by an archway into a recessed wall containing the inscription plaque and the small door to the mosque. The arch itself is built of alternating black and white stone, the two side stones and the central one joggled for greater decorative effect.

The three windows, identical in size and decoration, are set just above the street level and provided with metal bars for security. The

[5] Ibid.

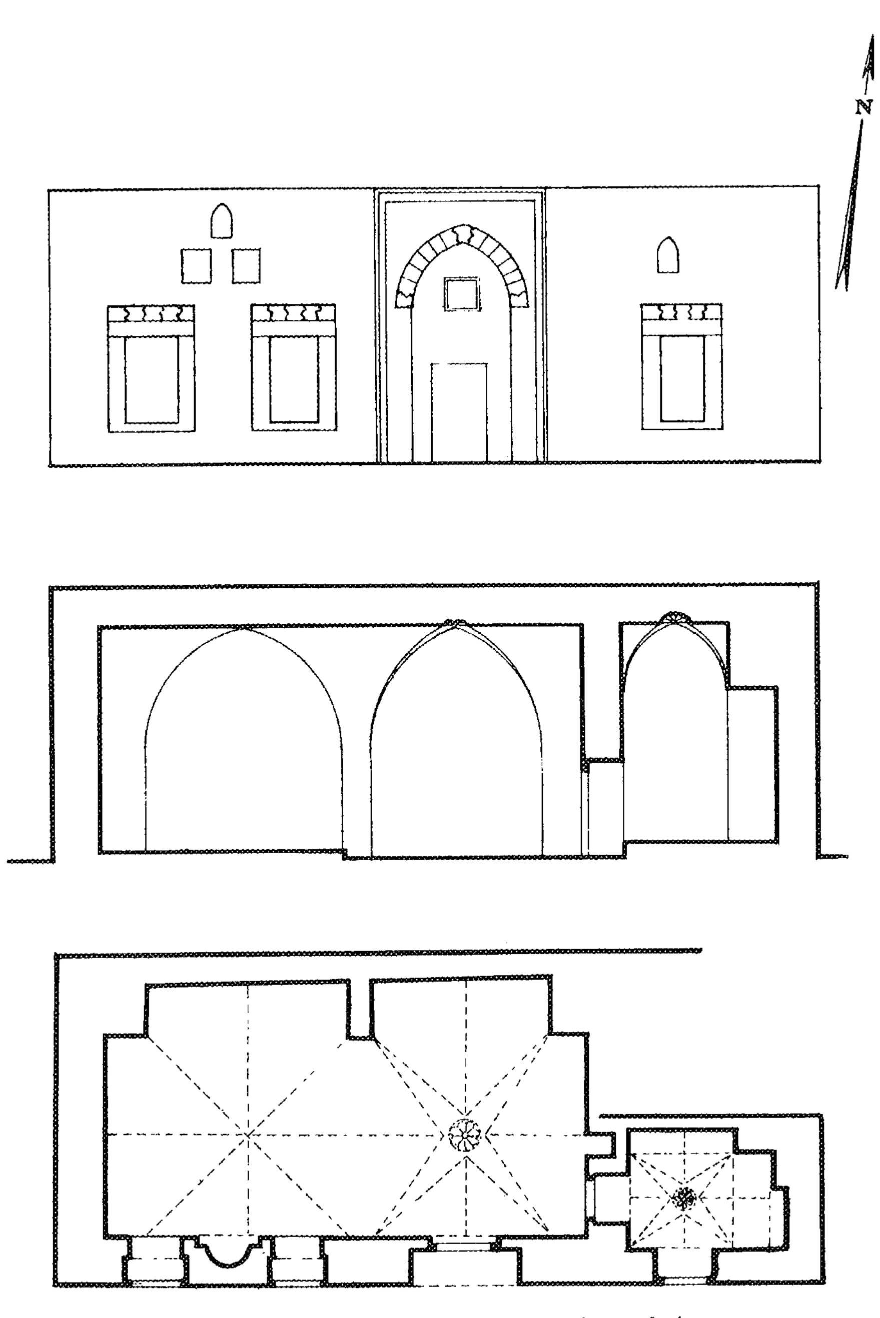


Figure 92. Madrasah Khayriyyah Hasan, elevation, section and plan

sides and top are framed by an ablaq motif: the sides by a simple alternation of black and white stones, the top by joggled stones above a white slab. Two of these windows are to the left of the entrance and are topped on the axis by two rectangular openings surmounted by an arched opening. The third window is on the right and is also topped by an arched opening. Simple as it is, the façade of the Khayriyyah Ḥasan effectively distinguishes the building from the others around it.

The three-room interior (fig. 92) includes a central room, which consists of a squarish area (5 meters to the side) covered by a cross-vault. The vault lines are emphasized, as they are in so much of Tripoli's vaulting, by deep widening lines going from the corners to the center. In this case the wider ends of the vault lines lead to an octagonal opening in the center and not to a rosette as shown on the plan.

The room to the left, a step higher than the central room, is the prayer room. Also squarish in shape (about 7 meters to the side), it is covered by a simple cross-vault resting on corner pillars. Its south side has a simple mihrab set between two deep windows.

The third and smallest room to the right is two steps higher than the central room. It is covered by a cross-vaulting of emphasized lines, ending in a central concave rosette (fig. 93). Its size and decorative rosette suggest that it may have been planned as the tomb chamber for the founder.

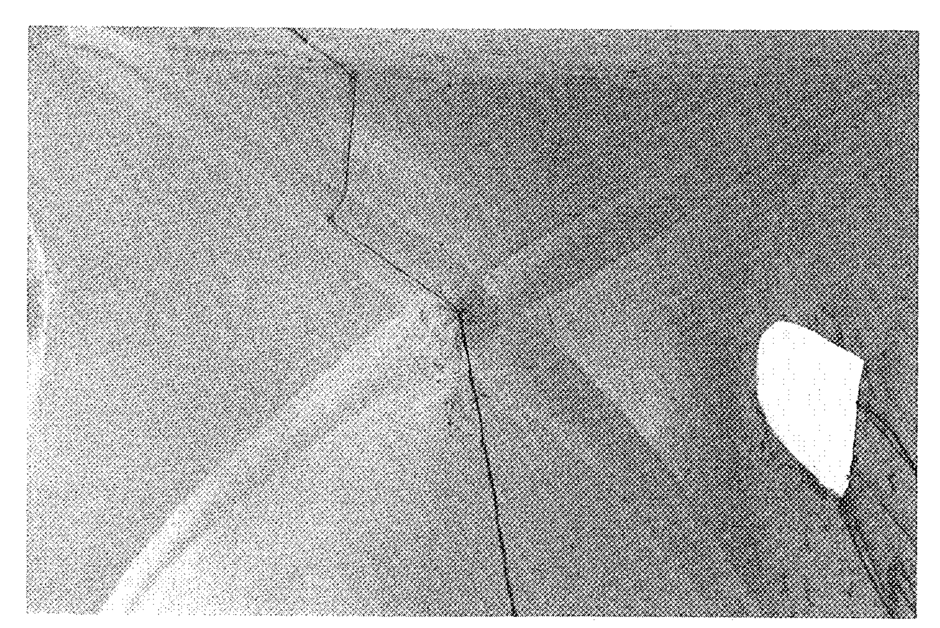


Figure 93. Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan, vaulting.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 45; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 136–37, Inscription no. 62, plate 15; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 424; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 272–73.

MADRASAH QARṬĀWIYYAH

Built in A D 1316–26 by Amir Qaraṭāy, governor of Tripoli.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River; it is one of the six madrasahs surrounding the Great Mosque, and in this case is actually attached to its eastern wall. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 3.

History and Inscriptions

The Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, known locally as Qarṭā'iyyah or Arṭāwiyyah, is certainly the largest and handsomest madrasah in Tripoli and its most important building in this category. As its name indicates, it was founded by Qaraṭāy ("the Black Colt"),[6] whose full name, Amir Shahāb al-Dīn Qaraṭāy ibn 'Abdallah al-Nāṣirī al-Ashrafī al-Jukundār al-Ḥājib, was established by Sobernheim.[7] Qaraṭāy was governor of Tripoli twice: first from A.H 716 to 726 (A D 1316–26) and then from A H 733 to 734 (A D. 1332–33).[8] During his first term of office he endowed the Great Mosque with its beautiful minbar dated A.H 726 (A.D. 1326). Although the building does not carry a founding inscription,[9] the literature tells us that Qaraṭāy ordered "the building of a madrasah in which he was later buried, the one of famous repute, known as the Qarṭāwiyyah"[10] and thus establishes him as its founder. As to the date of its construction, we know that Qaraṭāy died at the end of the first year of his second term and was buried in his madrasah;[11] so we at least know that the building was erected before 1333.

The only inscription which clearly pertains to the time of its construction is a simple Qur'anic text (Surat al-Hijr, 45–47), which un-

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[6] Jean Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamlouks," *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 153: "qarā-ṭay = poulain noir"

[7] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 56; for a full biography of Amir Qaraṭāy, see Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 71–74.

[8] Salem's list of governors and dates of office, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp 317–25

[9] Kurd 'Alī in *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6:128, maintains that such an inscription did exist, but was removed because of the waqf document it contained.

[10] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 3 vols (Cairo, 1970), vol 2, pt 2, p. 376; also reported by Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 71.

[11] Ibid.

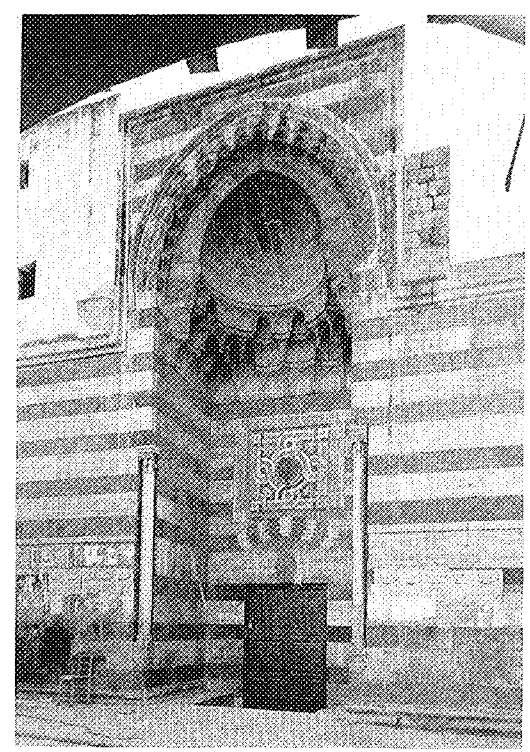


Figure 94. Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah, portal

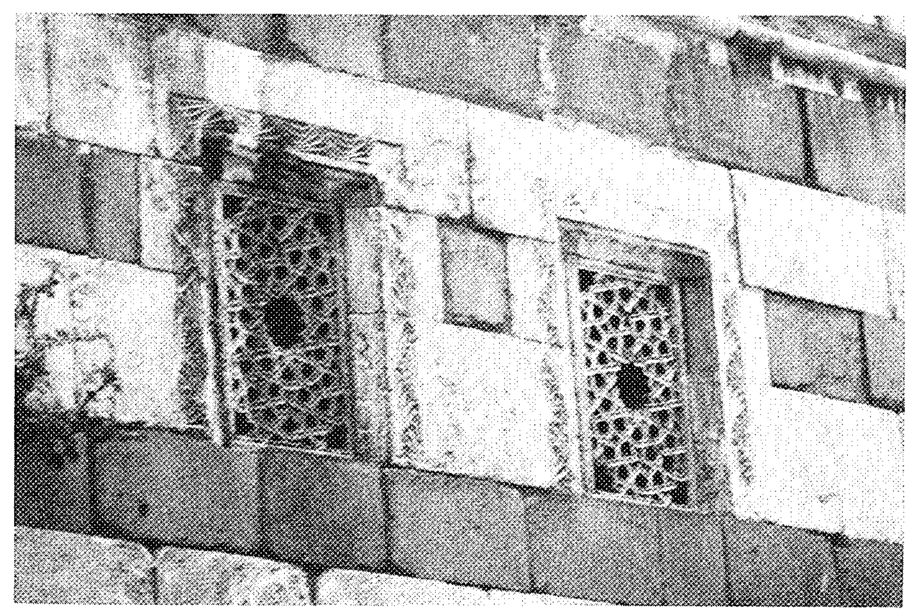


Figure 95. Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah, windows on western end of façade.

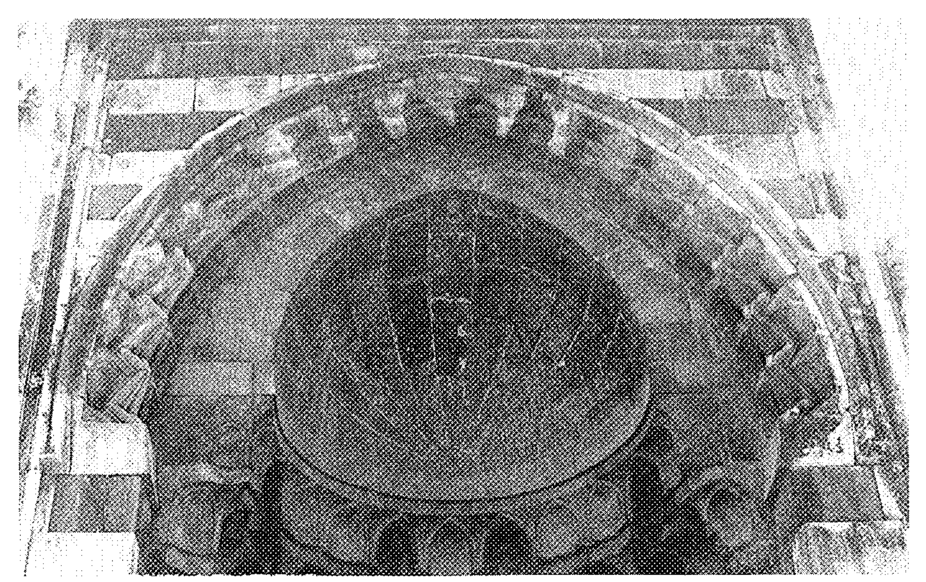


Figure 96. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, part of portal rising above building.

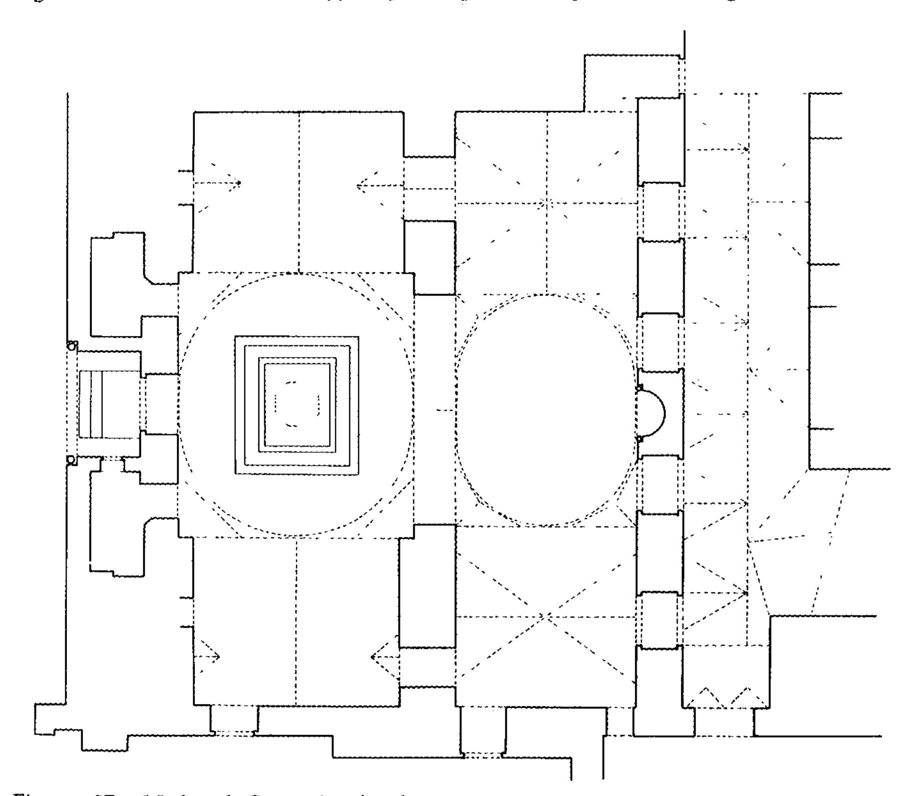


Figure 97. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, plan.



Figure 98. Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah, marble floor around fountain

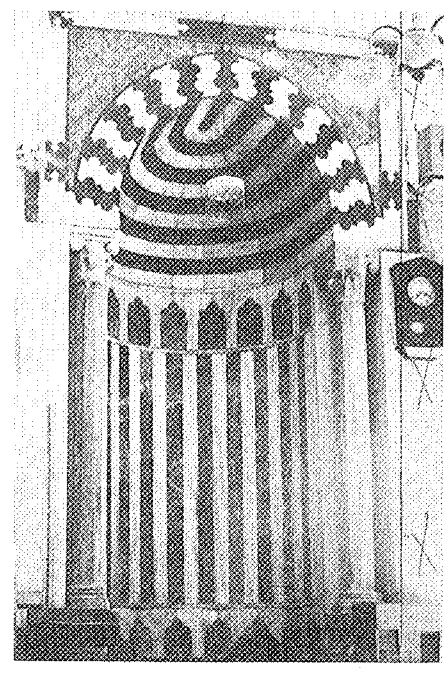


Figure 99 Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah, mihrab

fortunately adds nothing to our understanding of the building. It is set in the center of the lintel above the main entrance (fig. 94) and consists of five lines of clear carving:

ان المتقين فى جنات وعيون ادخلوها بسلام آمنين ونزعنا ما فى صدورهم من غل اخوانـــا
على سررا متقابلين .

> The God-fearing shall be amidst gardens and fountains. Enter you thee, in peace and security We shall strip away all rancour that is in their breast; as brothers they shall be upon couches set face to face.

In addition to this inscription, the Qarṭâwiyyah has a veritable bulletin board of Mamluk decrees from various times on the outside of its southern wall, but these inscriptions all date from after its construction and bear no relation to the building to which they are attached.[12]

Description

The Qarṭâwiyyah has an elaborate, organized façade that runs the entire length of its northern wall and is built of alternating courses of well-cut and carefully dressed black and white stone. The white stones are wider than the black, and the whole is framed by a simple stone molding running all around the façade. The portal (fig. 94) is in the center of a symmetrical composition consisting of a large rectangular window on either side, topped by a course of beautiful ablaq at the lower level and two small rectangular windows at the upper level. The two upper windows on the western side of the façade are covered with a carved stone grill (fig. 95) of a complex radiating pattern and are framed by a band of small fan-like motifs. While this type of stone window grill was common in Syria from the time of the Umayyads,[13] the two windows are the only examples of it to be found in Tripoli. The portal rises above the madrasah. It provides a fine example of Mamluk craftsmanship (fig. 94), including two reused white marble columns whose capitals are set on either side of the doorway.

The inner wall is opened by a simple rectangular door topped by a flat lintel containing the Qur'anic inscription in its center and an elaborately decorated joggled relieving arch of red, white, and black stone. The narrow tympanum between the lintel and the arch contains a carved

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[12] Here Sobernheim has mistaken the Qarṭâwiyyah for the Madrasah Shamsiyyah; the latter is enipigraphic, and set to the east of the main gate to the mosque All the inscriptions recorded and discussed by Sobernheim as pertaining to the Shamsiyyah (*Matériaux*, Inscriptions 24–38), as well as their corrections by Sauvaget (who commits the same error), should therefore be attributed to the south wall of the Qarṭâwiyyah.

[13] The first example is in the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, A D 715; see Abdulkader Rihaoui, *Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus, 1969), fig 19, p 108 Other examples, such as the Mâristân of Nûr al-Dīn in Damascus, come from the Ayyubid period

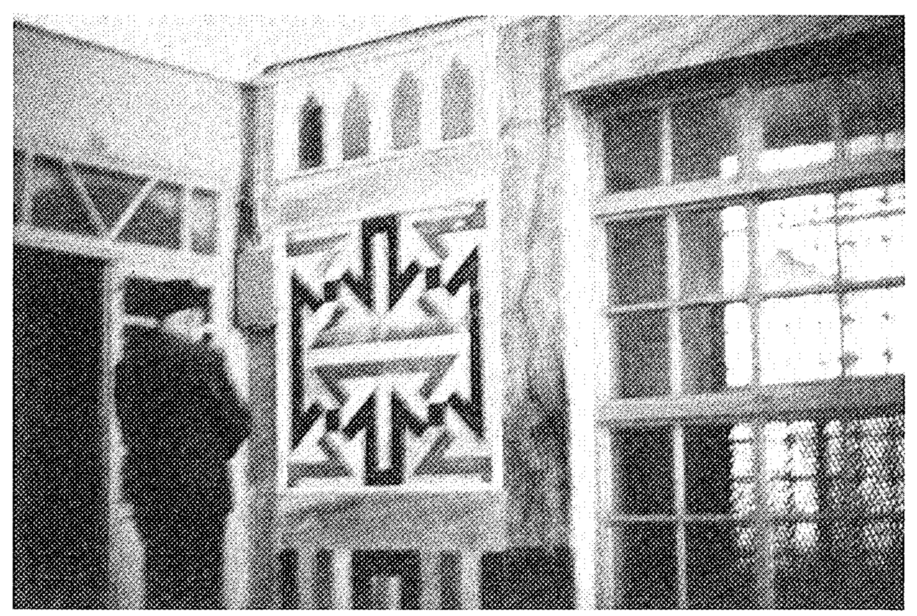


Figure 100. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, decorative plaque on qiblah wall

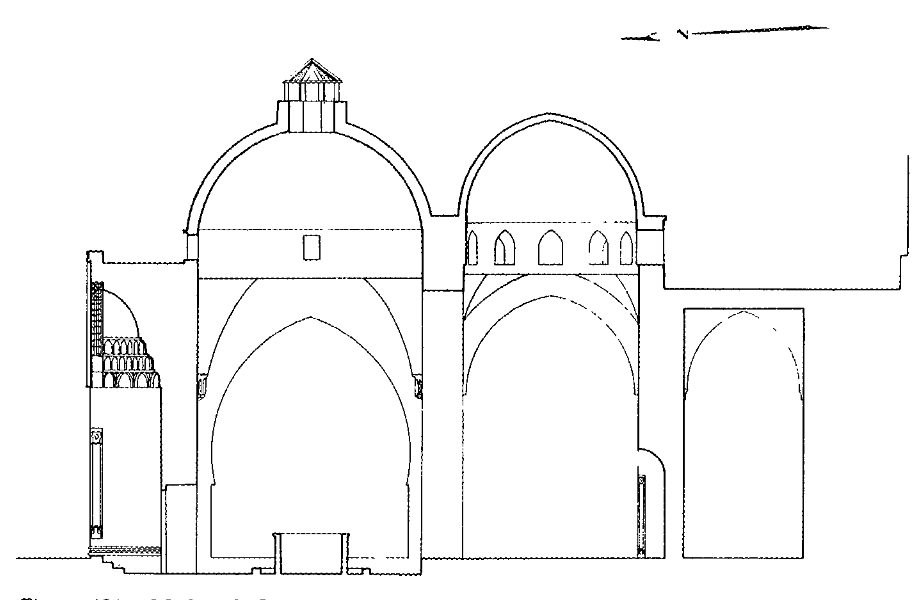


Figure 101 Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, section

Bismillah in white stone on a black background. We have already encountered this kind of arrangement above an opening in Ṭaynāl's mosque, and we shall see it again on the outside of the southern wall of the Qarṭāwiyyah.

Above the door and below the crowning muqarnas is a square plaque of polychrome marble (see cover). The design, a rotating swastika motif, consists of four loops around a central large circle formed by woven bands and ending in four sets of corner knots, square on the outer corners and triangular inside. The technique and materials used are typically Mamluk, but the simple motif itself is much older. It is of Christian origin (Byzantine examples abound)[14] but was taken over by the Muslims,[15] who integrated it into their decorative vocabulary and adapted it to all kinds of uses and with varying degrees of complexity. At times it reached a level of intricacy and busyness, for example, in the Mosque of Qāḍī Yahyā in Cairo (1444),[16] that borders on the absurd; rarely is it found in as pure, bold, and dynamic a form as on the Qarṭāwiyyah.

The upper third of the gate is dominated by an arch of a three-dimensional dogtooth or chevron motif surrounding an empty half-dome above three rows of muqarnas (fig. 96). This heavy, well-defined, three-dimensional zigzag pattern with protruding triangular units is of Crusader origin. The Normans used it extensively[17] and seem to have taken it with them wherever they went. In addition to Normandy itself, numerous examples can be found in England, for instance, on the twelfth-century Church of St. Mary at Iffley near Oxford, and in Sicily where it was introduced during the reign of Roger II (1101–54), for instance on the Cathedral of Cefalu.[18] In the Holy Land, Norman influence came with the Crusaders in the twelfth century and was quickly taken up by the Arabs. By Mamluk times it had become a fairly common decorative motif. In its Christian version it can still be seen on the Baptistry of the Church of St. John in Giblet (present-day Jubayl or Byblos, fig. 193).[19]

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[14] E g , the tenth-century "small cathedral" in Athens, see J. A. Hamilton, *Byzantine Architecture and Decoration* (London, 1956), p. 33; St. Mark's in Venice, see ibid , p. iii, figs. 35–37; also numerous examples in Alexander Speltz, *The Styles of Ornament from Prehistoric Times to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. R.P. Spiers, 2d ed (London, 1910), pp. 116/1–8; 117/1–6; 120/3–6; 126/4–5.

[15] An early example can be seen on the monumental entrance of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo (1003); see drawing in K A.C Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (hereafter *MAE*), 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–59), 1:70, fig 25.

[16] Egypt, Ministry of Waqf, *The Mosques of Egypt from A.D. 641 to A D. 1946*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1949), vol 2, pl. 121.

[17] Many illustrations in V Ruprich-Robert, *L'architecture normande au XI^e-XII^e siècle en Normandie et en Angleterre* (Paris, 1884–89).

[18] Giulio Arata, *Architettura arabo-normanna e il rinascimento in Sicilia* (Milan, 1925), pl. 3.

[19] Paul Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane* (Paris, 1964), pl 100.

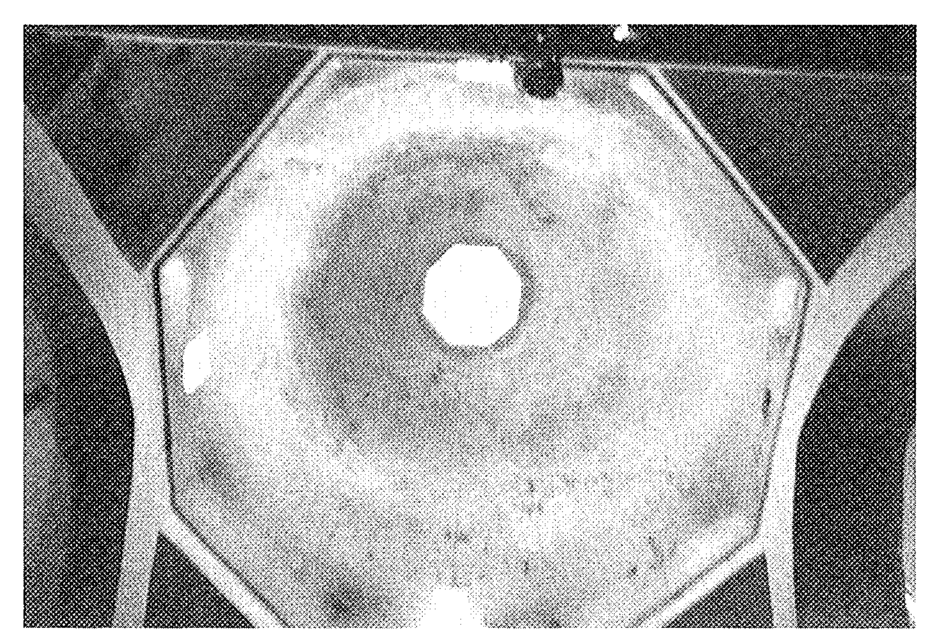


Figure 102. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, central dome, interior.

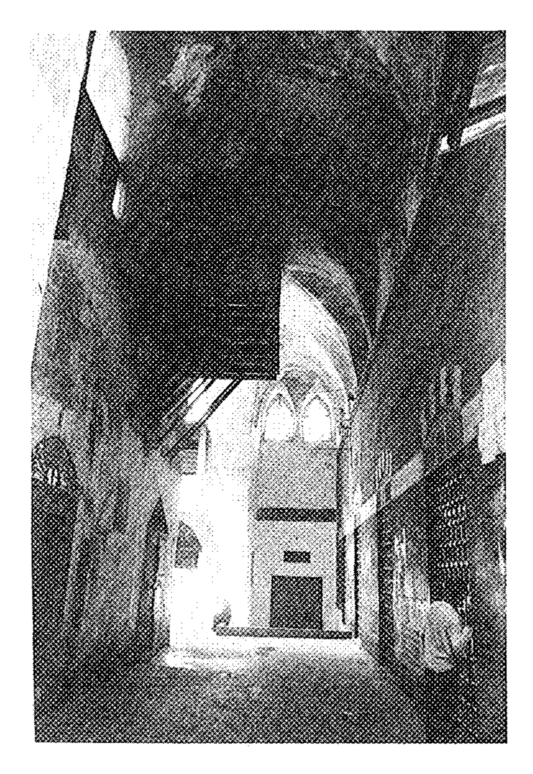


Figure 103. Passageway behind the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah

Examples of its Muslim version can be found in Jerusalem on the public fountains of al-Silsilah, Birkat al-Sultan and Qaytbāy (fig. 151),[20] and in Aleppo on the mosques of al-Ṣāḥib, al-Sarāwī, al-Bayyāḍah, and the fountain known as Qastal al-Sakakīnī.[21] In Mardin, arches with the same motif are found in older monuments like the 1385 Madrasah of Sultan Qāsim,[22] and remained in the architectural vocabulary of the city in a flatter version still used to decorate the doors and windows of houses today.[23] In Tripoli, the dogtooth motif is found in its purest Norman form on the Qarṭāwiyyah and on the façade of Khan al-Manzil built in 1309 on the right bank of the Qadisha River.

The interior of the Qarṭāwiyyah is spacious and clearly defined (fig. 97). It is essentially a covered three-iwan madrasah plan with a central court, an eastern and a western iwan for teaching and gatherings, and a southern iwan extended horizontally and used for prayer. The central courtyard is sunk about 50 centimeters lower than the iwans around it. Its main feature is a very large oblong fountain, built of four slabs of white marble—one to a side—with four corner colonnettes, set in the middle of the court and used for ablutions. The fountain itself is impressive only for its size (4 by 4.5 meters), but the marble floor around it (fig. 98), whose square patterns of various geometric red, black, and white marble motifs alternate with plain white marble squares, displays the harmonious color and good organization of a masterfully applied technique.

The eastern and western iwans are plain oblong rooms, more functional than decorative, but the southern one, a horizontal prayer room running the width of the building, displays a whole collection of fourteenth-century decorative marble panels. The qiblah wall includes an entirely paneled mihrab in its center (fig. 99) with two windows and two wall segments on either side. Both are lined with decorative panels of red, white, and black marble. The mihrab has vertical panels on its main body and horizontal bands in its half-dome ending in a joggled pattern on the arch. The wall segments are covered by large square plaques, each containing a different motif (fig. 100). The general effect is very rich, and bold and pleasing to the modern taste. The patterns are large, the

[20] Both built in the fifteenth century. Illustrations in Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Sud: Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vols. 44–45 [1925–27]), pl. 92.

[21] Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Nord: Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep*, 2 vols (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. 78) (Cairo, 1954), pl 151a

[22] Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, 2 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1940), 2:18.

[23] Ibid , pl 24.

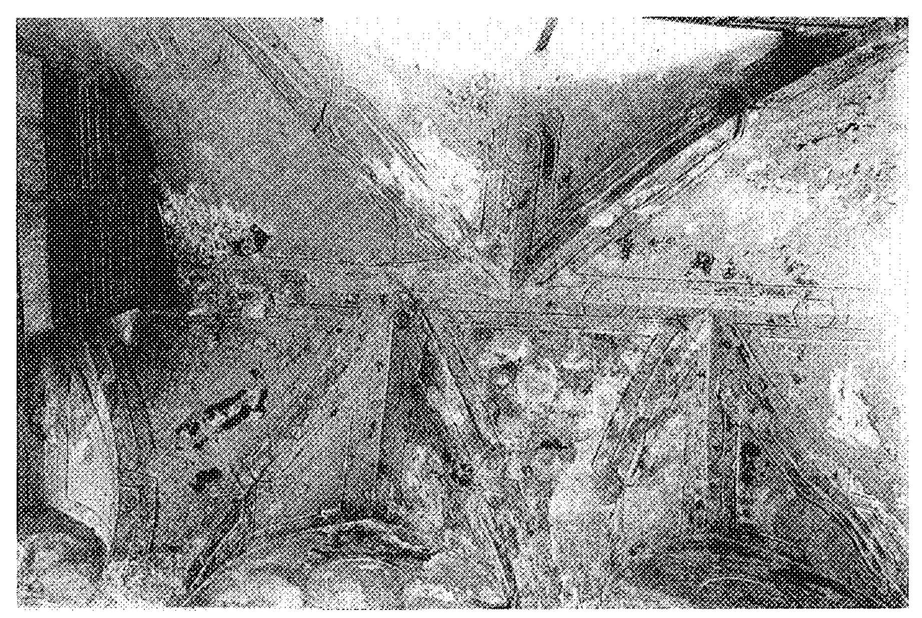


Figure 104 Passageway behind the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, decorated vaulting

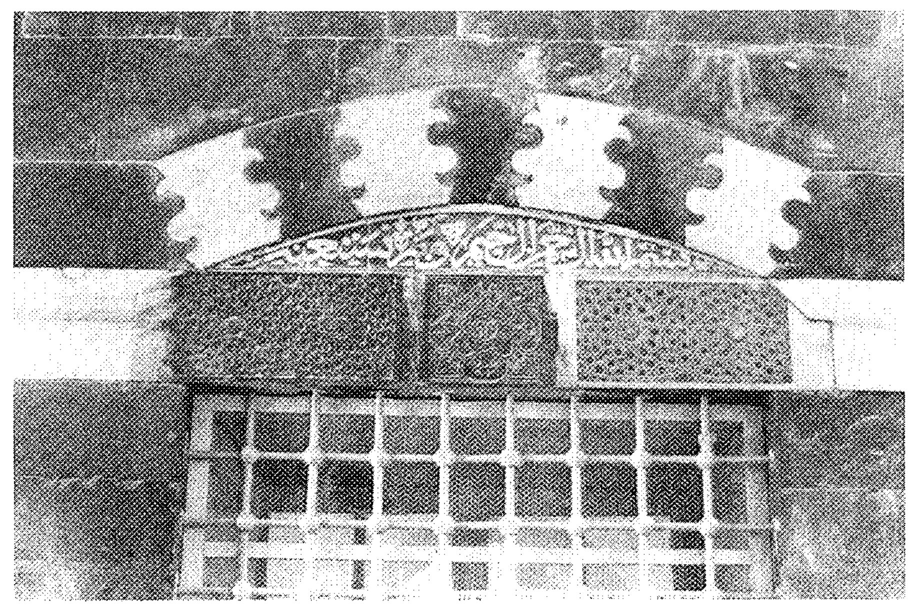


Figure 105. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, window on exterior southern wall.

color scheme limited, the lines are simple, and the technique is impeccable.

Two massive domes of the Qarṭāwiyyah's superstructure stand out (fig. 101); the rest are covered by simple vaulting or cross-vaulting. The dome over the central court area (fig. 102) is a large cupola, with an octagonal opening in its center and four small windows on its sides, touching the walls on an octagonal zone resting on four plain pendentives with a single decorative squinch at the lower corner of the triangle. Over the mihrab is a large oval dome with sixteen arched windows resting on four plain pendentives. The domes are massive but otherwise of no particular interest. They merely cover the areas under them, and certainly do not match the quality and technique of the rest of the structure.

Behind the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah runs a passageway with decorated vaulting (figs. 103 and 104) leading from the Suq al-ʿAṭṭārīn to the eastern side of the Great Mosque. It is the only public way that is so decorated. The decoration consists of bands of stucco running on either side of the lines of the vaulting and interlacing in circles or x's; circular medallions are applied on the arches between the vaulting (fig. 104).

The southern wall of the Qarṭāwiyyah which gives onto this passageway is as organized, composed, and as carefully executed as the rest of the building (fig. 103). The wall is framed on three sides by a simple fish-scale motif, and is pierced by four identical windows set equidistantly at floor level. The windows are tied together at the lintel level by a long band of white marble. Within each window this band is decorated by two rectangular plaques on either side of an octagonal motif; the three elements displaying Mamluk geometrical star patterns repeated on alternate windows (figs. 105 and 106). All four windows have elaborately decorated joggled relieving arches, identical with those seen on the main entrance of the Mosque of Ṭaynāl and the façade of the Qarṭāwiyyah, and include a short Qur'anic inscription (sections from the Surat al-Tawbah) on the tympanum.

On two of the windows the central decorative unit includes a blazon, which is also seen on a corner of the vaulting (upper left side). The blazon ♈ is undoubtedly that of Qaraṭāy, so we can assume that the vaulting is contemporary with the madrasah. Qaraṭāy must have had the madrasah built with a façade on the street and another with windows, on the passage leading to the mosque. He took care to decorate the passage like the structure itself so that the blazon on the windows and on the stucco decoration on the vaulting acts as a signature linking the two together.

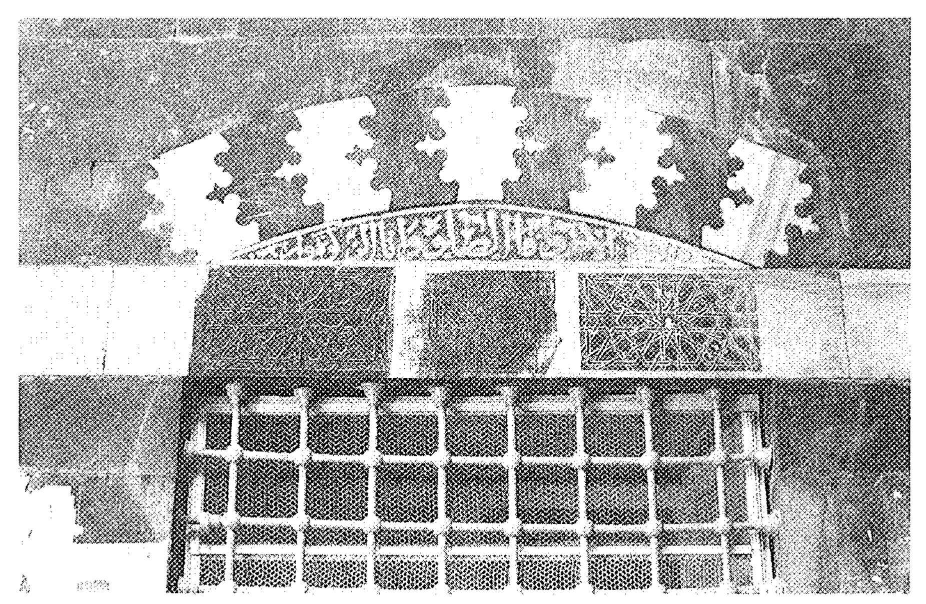


Figure 106. Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, window on exterior southern wall.

In the fifteenth century the lower part of the qiblah wall of the Qarṭāwiyyah was used to display official decrees promulgating some taxes and abolishing others, discouraging abuses, and protecting the people of Tripoli from infractions of the law. What would today appear in the official paper of the municipality was then carefully inscribed on marble slabs on the wall of the alley leading to the mosque for passers-by to see. Although a side entrance, the eastern door of the Great Mosque was still the door closest to the active life of the city and probably the one by which the heaviest traffic passed. The Qarṭāwiyyah wall was therefore a convenient place to display decrees.[24]

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 37–41, photos pp. 35, 39, 41; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 128; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 62–83, Inscriptions 26–36; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 418–19, plates 10–11; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 244–66, photos pp. 389, 391; Unesco, no. 10, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 424.

[24] All of them have been scrupulously published by Sobernheim, including decrees by Barsbāy and Qasrū in 1423, Yashbak al-Ṣūfī in 1447, Ināl al-Ashqar in 1468-95, Ināl al-Ashrafī in 1483, Qaytbāy in 1484, and a few others.

MADRASAH NŪRIYYAH

Built in A D 1333(?) by a certain Nūr al-Dīn.

Location

Across the street from the Great Mosque to its east, at the very beginning of the Jeweler's Suq *(suq al-ṣāghah). Tripoli,* Monument no. 5.

History and Inscriptions

Unlike most Mamluk monuments the Nūriyyah has no inscriptions, and its modest size allowed it to escape the attention and description of travelers. This lack of founding inscription and information in the sources left the identity of its founder and its date of construction open to speculation. It was presumably sponsored, along with the Hammam al-Nūrī across the street, by a certain Nūr al-Dīn, after whom the whole area around the madrasah, the Suwayqat al-Nūrī (Small Suq of Nūrī), is named, and for no apparent reason the date of 1333 has been attached to it by both the Unesco mission (though with some reservations) and Condé and Salem (with no reservations at all).[25] Tadmurī, on the other hand, with his customary skepticism, refutes this date for lack of evidence,[26] and rightly notes that Salem's own list of the rulers of Tripoli[27] does not include a single Nūr al-Dīn. At least for the moment it is simply not possible to date the construction of this madrasah nor to identify its patron.

Description

With the cutting of a large street in front of the Great Mosque, the Nūriyyah (like the Nāṣiriyyah) became a corner building. Its façade and dome can be seen from the outside. The façade (figs. 107 and 108), on the main street facing the Hammam al-Nūrī, is built of local sandstone and is opened by three windows and a portal.

The identical windows are set equidistantly from each other four stone courses above the street level. Heavily barred, they are simply decorated by alternating black and white stones on the sides and a more

[25] Unesco, no 12, p 12: "Peut-être batie par Nour-ad-din vers A D 1333," Bruce Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1961), p 46; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 425: "Founded by the governor of Tripoli, the Amir Nūr al-Dīn in 733 H " (no reference).

[26] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 275.

[27] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp 317–25, where he gives a long and precise chronological listing of all governors of Tripoli with the dates of their rule, going from the Mamluk takeover of the city in 1289 to the Ottoman conquest of 1517

Just before the manuscript went to press I learned from Michael Burgoyne that he has seen an inscription on the madrasah Nūriyyah It has however been impossible for me to check the information

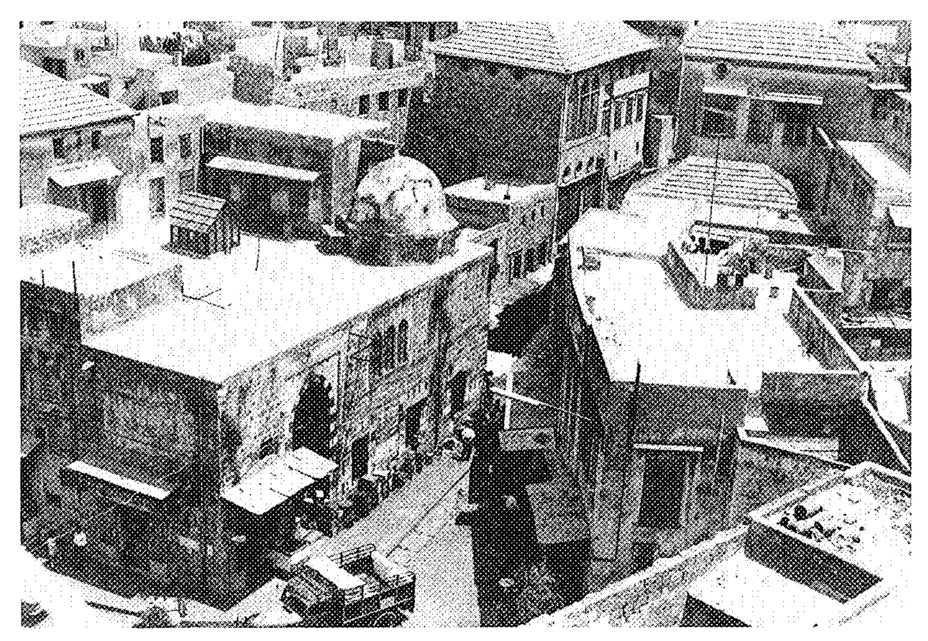


Figure 107. Madrasah Nūriyyah, exterior.

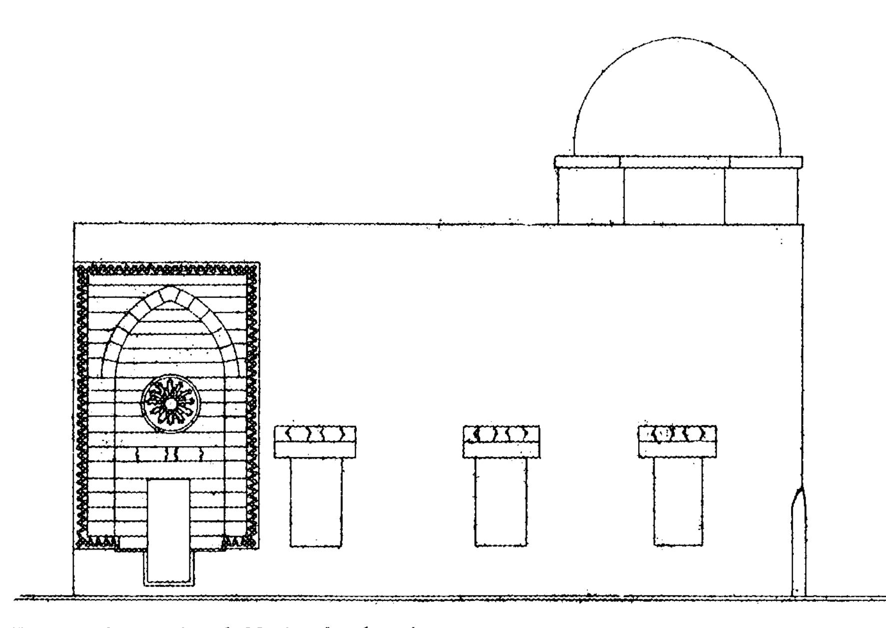


Figure 108. Madrasah Nūriyyah, elevation.

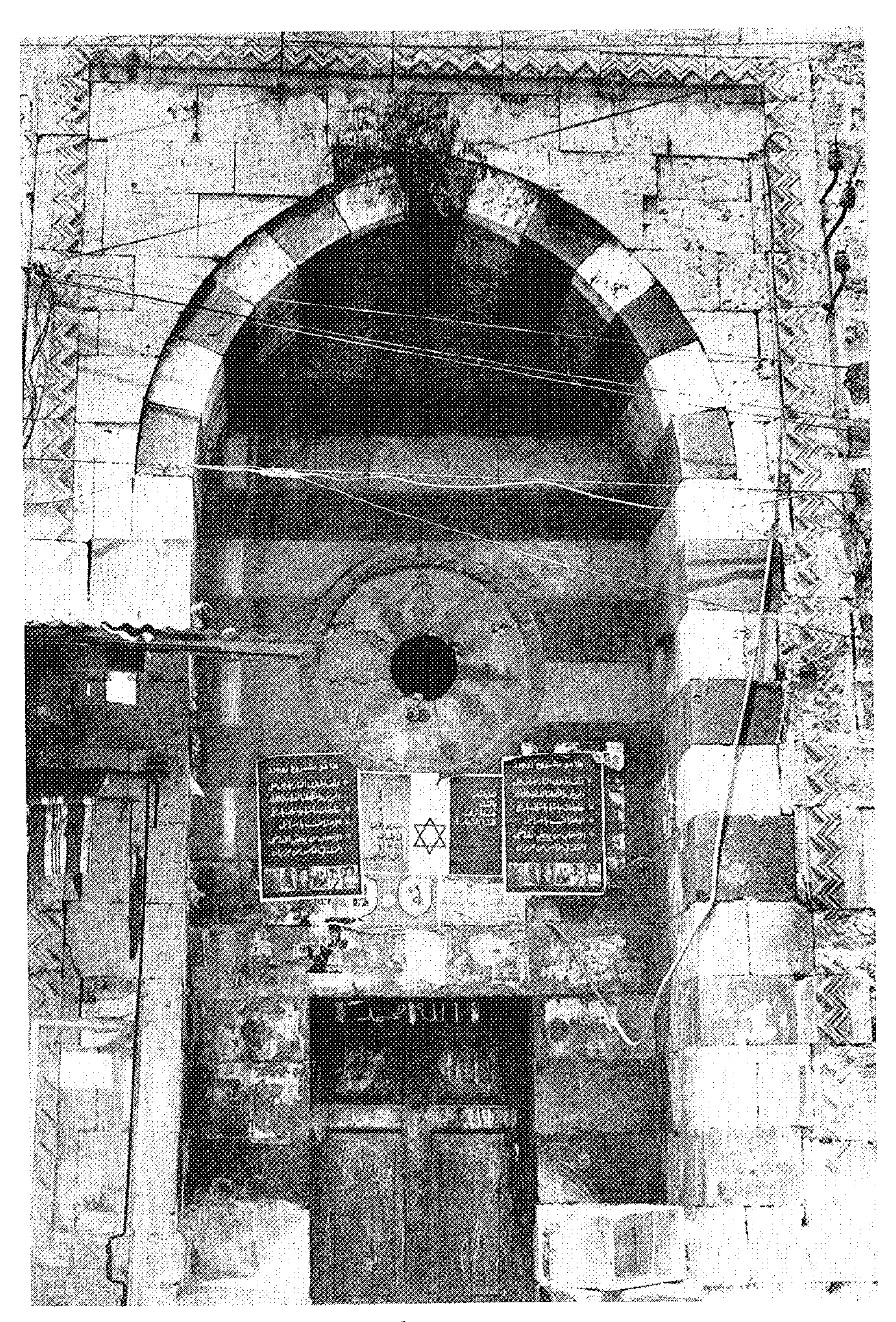


Figure 109. Madrasah Nūriyyah, portal.

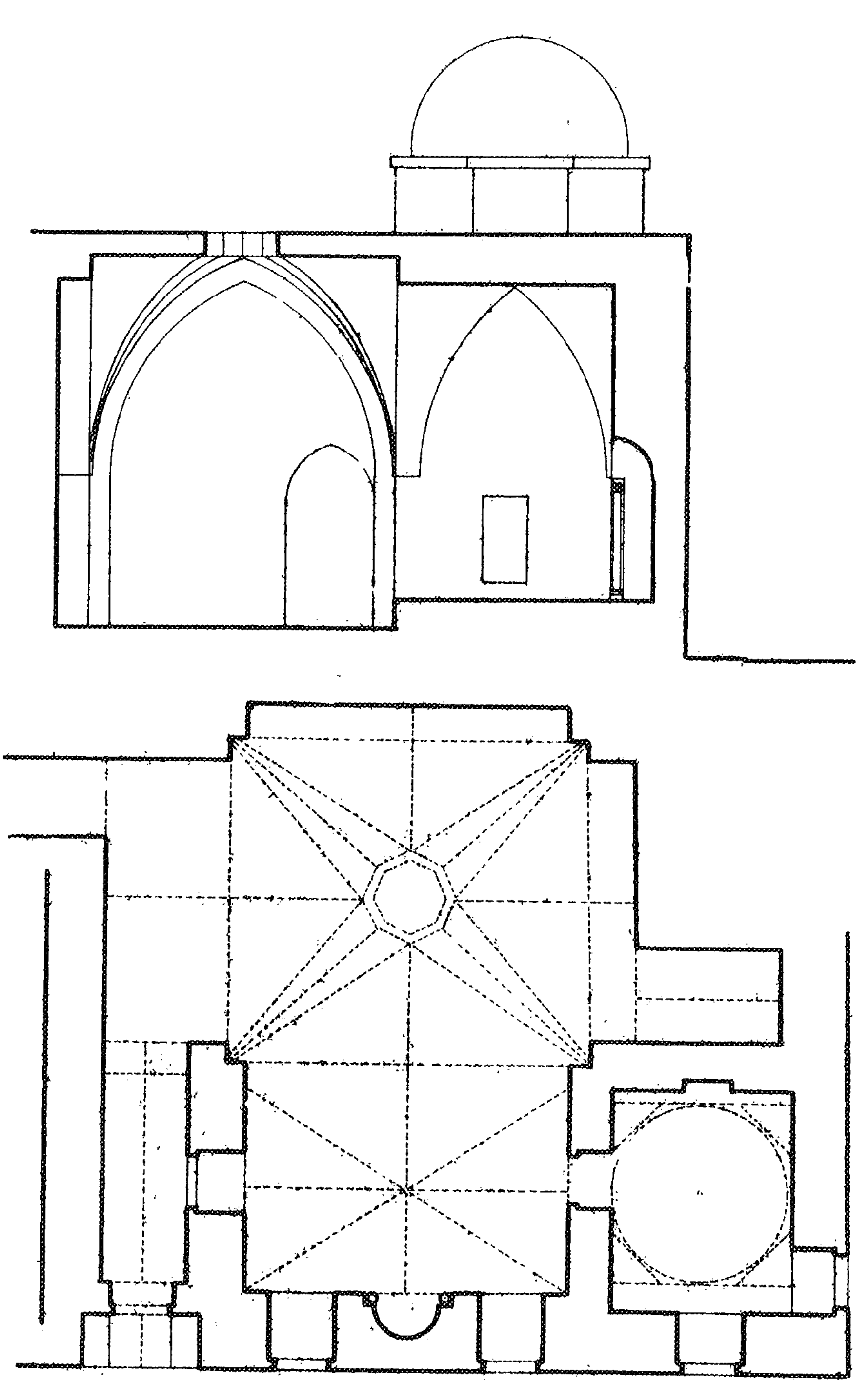


Figure 110. Madrasah Nūriyyah, plan and section

elaborate course of ablaq above a plain lintel. At a higher level (fig. 107) three arched windows form a block, but they are of recent origin.

The portal is undoubtedly the most important element of the façade (figs. 108 and 109). A rectangular unit of 7 by 3.5 meters, it reaches the full height of the building. It has been placed to one side rather than in the middle of the façade, and has mastabahs on either side of a common type; its recessed wall contains the simple wooden door with a flat lintel which leads inside. Above the door is an oculus with joggled polychrome voussoirs; the wall on which the oculus is set, the door jambs, and the arch are all decorated in alternate courses of black and white stone.

The whole portal down to the level of the mastabahs and side windows is framed by a zigzag in low relief which looks very much like a flattened-out dogtooth motif. A more elaborate façade portal, but with the same kind of oculus on a striped background, is to be seen in the Madrasah of Amir Yi-Malak al-Gūkandār in Cairo, built in 1319.[28]

The interior of the Madrasah Nūriyyah includes a corridor, a large hall, and a tomb chamber (fig. 110). The door opens onto a corridor which runs the length of the main hall. It is through this corridor that the madrasah, set to the right of the corridor, is reached.

The hall, or central part of the monument, appears to be one unit in its space, but it is in fact two areas: a northern lower one and a southern elevated one, each with its own roofing. The lower area is used for ablutions. It has a marble floor with a simple geometric pattern of white octagons framed in red or black and is covered by cross-vaulting with concave widening lines meeting in an octagonal opening. The higher, southern area is for prayer; it contains the heavily decorated mihrab and is covered by a simple cross-vault. The mihrab is the main element of decoration in this otherwise simple area. It is set on the qiblah wall, in the center of the room and between two of the deep windows opening onto the outside. It is a niche in the wall with a half-dome resting on two reused marble colonnettes. The whole unit of the mihrab (concave lower area, half-dome, arch, and panel behind) is totally covered by various patterns in marble (fig. 111). The lower part consists of a vertical alternation of marble panels, while the half-dome is covered by a zigzag pattern of polychrome marble like bolts of lightning. The arch displays a joggled arrangement of marble slabs; the panel behind it is totally covered by a pattern of polychrome star-shaped marquetry.

Mihrabs with joggled arches and marble paneling were very popular in Cairo during the first half of the fourteenth century, with at

[28] See illustration in Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, pl. 103a.

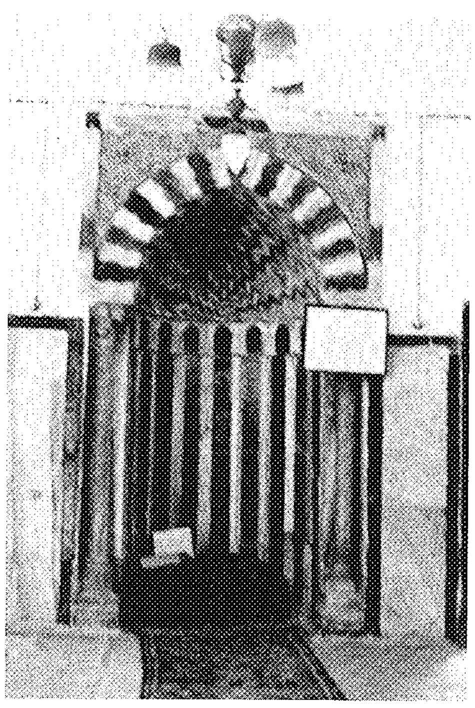


Figure 111 Madrasah Nūriyyah, mihrab

least five built between 1303 and 1319.[29] The zigzag design on the half-domes of mihrabs seems to have become popular later in the century, and is found, for example, in the Mosque of al-Bakrī built before 1374,[30] and the Madrasah of Maḥmūd al-Kurdī, built in 1395,[31] both in Cairo.

Off both the ablution and the prayer areas is a small room. On the northern ablution area, an arched door leads to a simple and exceedingly small rectangular room with a simple vaulting. On the southern prayer area, a small rectangular door leads to a square funerary chamber opened by two windows: one on its southern side facing the street, and one on its eastern side facing the Suq al-Ṣāghah. Its northern and southern walls are decorated by two blind arches in relief. The dome is as simple inside as out. A cupola rests on an octagonal zone of open alternating with closed arches resting on four squinches that are similar to the squinches of the Hammam al-Nūrī but smaller. This room has neither tomb nor inscription.

29 Ibid , pls 112a, 113a, 113b, 114c, 114d.
30 Creswell Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, photo IV 5
31 Ibid , photo IV 29.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 46; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 425; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 275–77, photo p. 395; Unesco, no. 12, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 425.

MADRASAH SHAMSIYYAH

Built in A.D. 1349 by Shams al-Dīn al-Mawlawī.

Location

On the left bank of the Qadisha River, it is one of the six madrasahs surrounding the Great Mosque. To the left of the mosque's entrance, it faces the Mashhad (fig. 112). *Tripoli*, Monument no. 2A.

History and Inscriptions

The Madrasah Shamsiyyah has no inscriptions,[32] and almost nothing is known of its history. It was built by Shams al-Dīn al-Mawlawī,[33] and

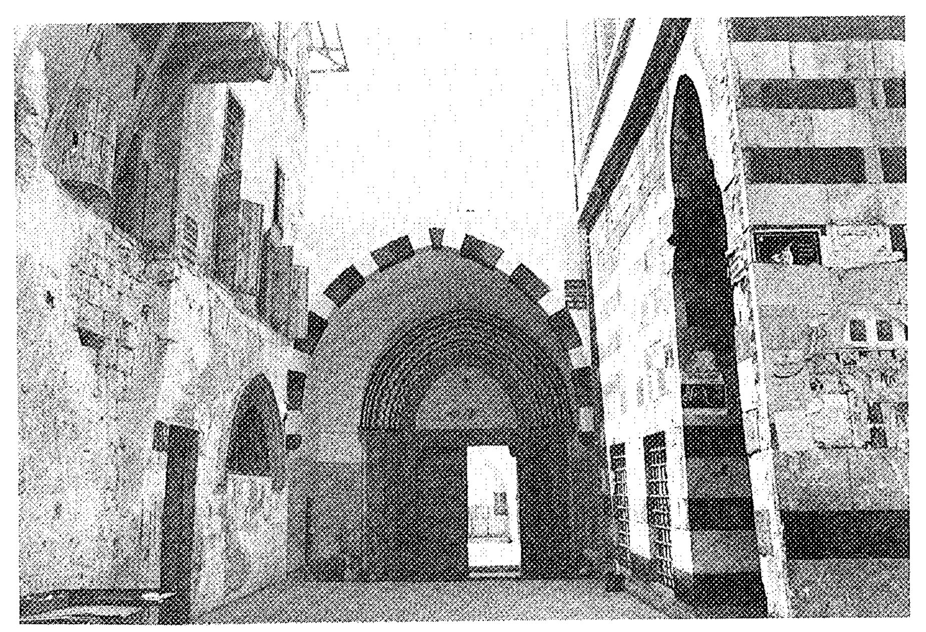


Figure 112 Madrasah Shamsiyyah, located to the left of the Great Mosque's entrance and facing the Mashhad to the right.

[32] Sobernheim lists some, but he confused the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah with the Madrasah Shamsiyyah

[33] Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p 419, does not give the source of his information.

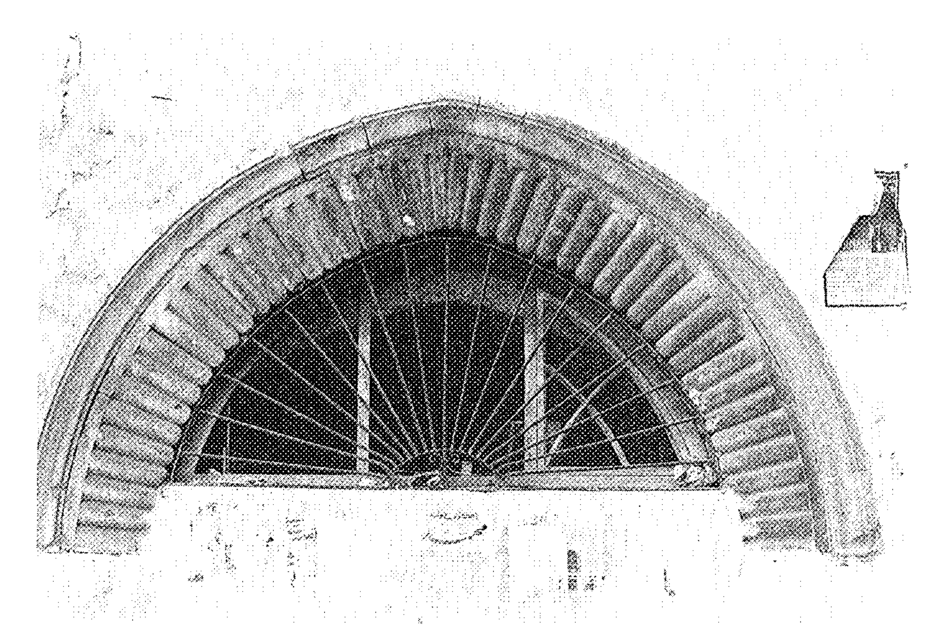


Figure 113. Madrasah Shamsiyyah, arch of cushion voussoirs.

from its foundation until very recently was associated with the Mawlawī order of Derwishes. It was less a madrasah than a meeting place and zāwiyah for Mawlawī gatherings.

Description

The Shamsiyyah does not draw attention to its presence with the usual minaret, dome, or gate. The single element which identifies it from the outside is an arch of cushion voussoirs over a door which is now blocked (fig. 113). Because of these Western-style voussoirs, the question arises whether we are dealing with an arch remaining in situ from Crusader times or with a Mamluk arch built for the madrasah using a motif common to both Muslims and Latins. While the cushion voussoir was commonly used by the Crusaders in the Holy Land (on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of St. Anne in Jerusalem,[34] and on the Baptistry of the Church of St. John in Byblos, for example),[35] it can also be found on Muslim architecture that dates from before the Crusades (the Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo [1095]), and it became popular again with the Mamluks (the main entrance to the Mosque of Baybars [1255], the

[34] C.J M. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), see frontispiece and pl. 15.

[35] Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane*, pls 74, 129.

minarets of Sultan Qalā'ūn [1284], and of Salār and Sanjār al-Gawlī in Cairo,[36] the minaret of the White Mosque in Ramlah [1318], and the Khāldiyyah Library in Jerusalem [1330]).[37] In Tripoli we have already seen it on the minaret of Ṭaynāl's mosque, and we shall see it again on the mihrab of the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah. In short, the cushion voussoir was a popular motif in Mamluk times, so the arch of the Shamsiyyah need not be automatically associated with the Crusaders, as it so often has been,[38] on the basis of its shape alone. But by the same token, we have no grounds for asserting that it is not a reused arch from a Crusader building.

When it is entered from a side door near the voussoir or from a door on the northeastern side of the Great Mosque, the Shamsiyyah does not show a well-defined plan (see fig. 9, lower right); its series of rooms, used for Mawlawī gatherings, are haphazardly arranged and entirely undecorated. Two rooms with irregular flat roofs lead to two identifiable units: a large oblong room with a mihrab niche which forms the prayer and gathering area of the monument, and a square domed room, most likely a commemorative chamber.

A small, modest building, the Shamsiyyah should really be categorized a zāwiyah rather than a madrasah. Its fame is mainly the result of its proximity to the Great Mosque and of its decorative façade.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 44; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 418–20; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 278–82; Unesco, p. 15.

THE MASHHAD

Also known as the Anonymous Madrasah, its date and founder are unknown.

Location

One of the six madrasahs surrounding the Great Mosque, this one is on the west side of the main entrance facing the Madrasah Shamsiyyah. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 2B.

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[36] Creswell, *MAE*, 2:212–13.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p 44; Unesco, p. 15.

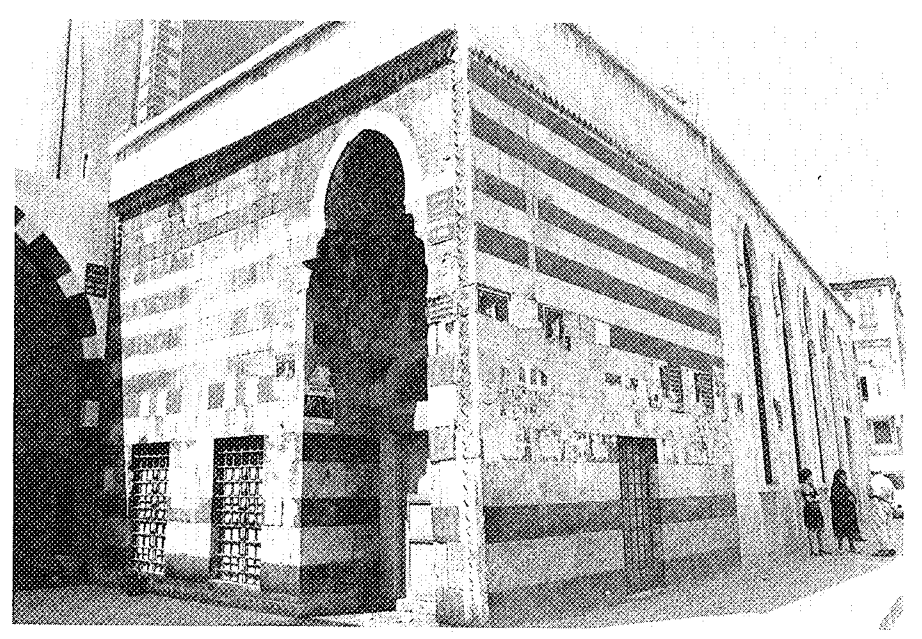


Figure 114 Mashhad, exterior.

History and Inscriptions

The Mashhad has no inscriptions and is mentioned neither by travelers nor by historians, nor is there any local tradition attached to it, hence its "anonymous" appellation.

Description

The Mashhad is a small, oblong building set on the corner where the Great Mosque and the main street meet; this location gives it two exposed walls (fig. 114). The street side is built of alternating courses of black and white stone, giving the wall a horizontally striped effect. It is opened at the street level by a very low window with a joggled voussoir above its lintel. The wall is framed by a band of carved stone zigzagging along the top.

The main façade of the Mashhad on the mosque entrance side has an elaborate entrance. This wall has the same striped horizontal effect as the side wall, but only the lower six and upper four courses are of black and white; the middle courses alternate white and reddish stone, which presents a colorful display, an effect emphasized by the muqarnas niche over the door. There a most colorful half-dome crowns two rows of muqarnas pendentives (fig. 115) above a simple rectangular doorway

with a semicircular window over its lintel. The decoration of the half-dome is executed in a very elaborate marble marquetry with a central star from whose points radiate a complex system of interlacing that ends in three half-stars at the horizontal level. The motif is executed in rectangular pieces of white marble which form the angular interlace with red and gray marble and turquoise-blue faience to fill it in. The result is the single most colorful architectural element in Tripoli.

Next to the entrance, the wall is also opened by two windows at the street level topped by two rows of joggled voussoirs: a red and white followed by a black and white. This wall is framed on all four sides and along the entrance by the same zigzag motif that edges the top of the side wall. The motif actually consists of two rows of flat zigzag and an outer row in relief which give the general appearance of a flattened-out dogtooth motif that encloses the whole structure (see fig. 114).

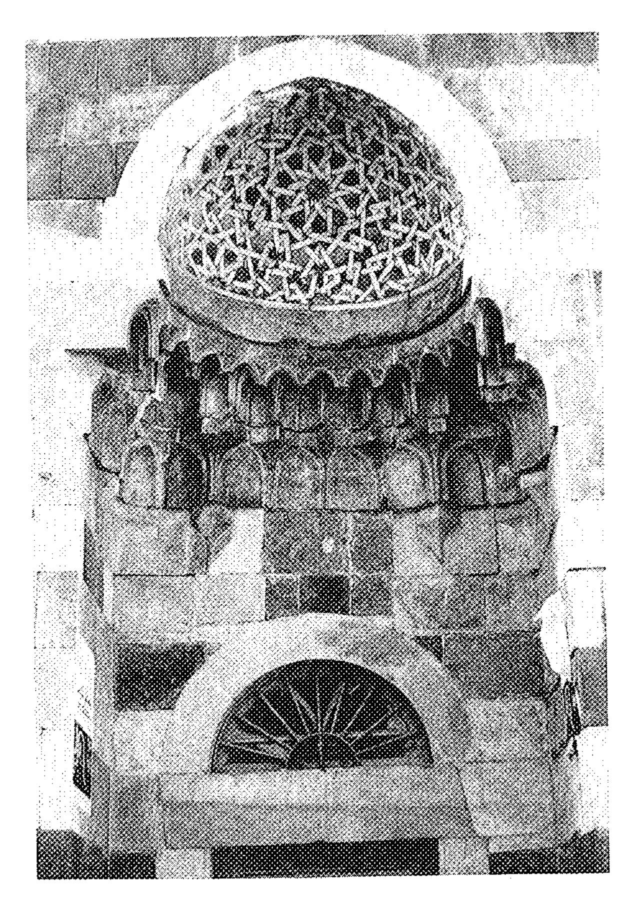


Figure 115. Mashhad, portal

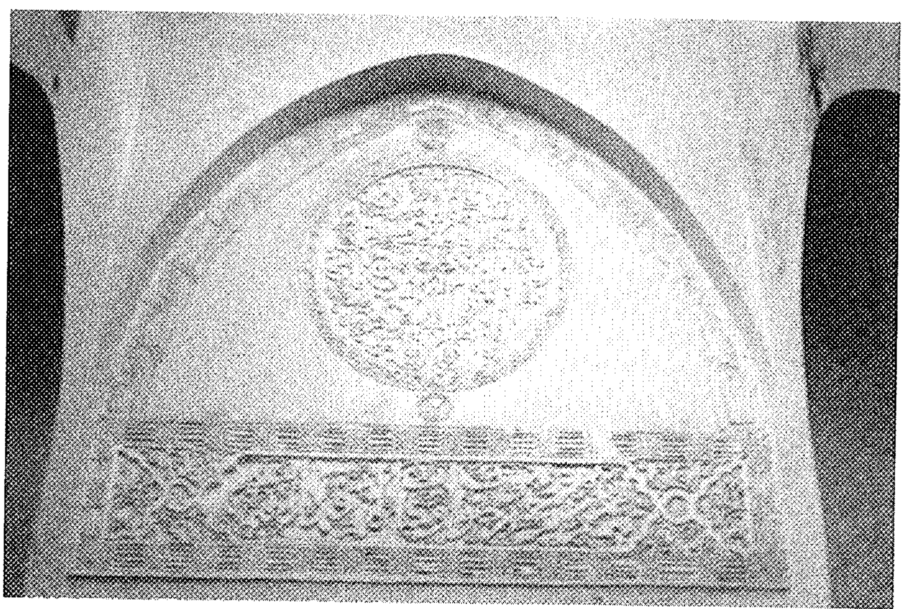


Figure 116. Mashhad, interior stucco decoration

The interior of the Mashhad is in disrepair; its single oblong room (fig. 9, upper right) is now filled with debris. The four walls are visible enough at their upper level to show a recessed shallow arch on each. The arch on the qiblah side is the most elaborate of them. It is decorated by an organized panel of stucco motifs (fig. 116), consisting of a band of double interlacing with knots running parallel to the line of the arch. This band, of the same kind and shape as the one on the vaulting of the alley behind the Qarṭâwiyyah Madrasah (see Qarṭâwiyyah, figs. 103 and 104), rests on a horizontal frieze running the width of the wall. The frieze is framed by alternating squares of a beehive motif and horizontal strips, and contains a polylobe-ended cartouche enclosing a bold inscription on a field of scrolls and plant motifs. The inscription reads:[39]

يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان وجنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم .

It is verse 21 of the Surat al-Tawbah (Surah of Repentance) and has no particular bearing on this madrasah.

In the field created by the band and the frieze is a large circular medallion of tendrils and stylized leaves with its own border of an abstract floral repeat.[40] Above and below the medallion are two small circles containing a blazon with a cup in the middle field.

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[39] Read by Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p 284.
[40] Illustrated in the Unesco publication cited in n 1.

Sculptured stucco decoration was known in Syria from Ayyubid times. Outside the walls of Damascus, for example, the Madrasah Shamsiyyah, built by the sister of Saladin in 1186, has one of the most beautiful and complete ensembles of sculptured stucco bands of plant interlacing on its northern, eastern, and western walls.[41] The Madrasah ʿIzziyyah, also outside the walls, was built in 1224 and shows an exuberance untypical of the Ayyubid period.[42] It and the Hospital of Qaymarī[43] both have circular medallions of stucco with a radiating floral and vegetal interlace. But, though the technique and the elements were clearly part of the Syrian vocabulary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is in Cairo that we find the most striking parallels to the decoration of the Mashhad. In the Mosque of Amir Sunqūr Saʿdī (1315),[44] the Madrasah of Amir Yi-Malak al-Gūkandār (1319),[45] and the khanqah of Tughay (before 1348),[46] to give just three examples, an organized composition of a floral-vegetal medallion is set over a frieze of inscription, the whole in the same style, size, and scale of stucco as in the Mashhad.

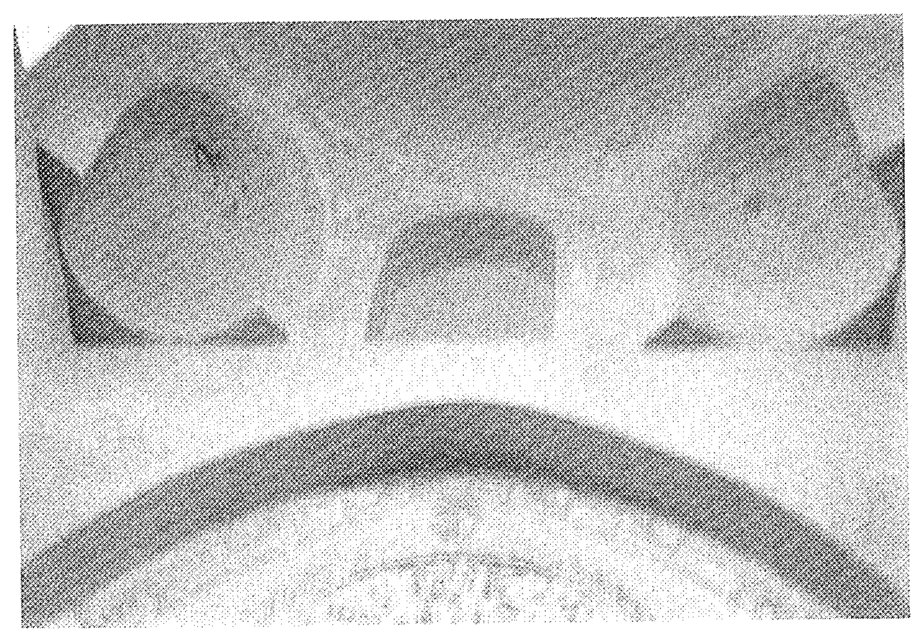


Figure 117. Mashhad, interior zone of transition.

[41] Jean Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), p 56, fig 17

[42] See illustration of chamber in ibid., p. 65, fig. 24

[43] See illustration in Abdulkader Rihaoui, *Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus, 1969), p 123, fig 30.

[44] See illustration in Creswell, *MAE* 2, pl. 114a

[45] Ibid , pl. 103c, shows the northwestern iwan.

[46] Creswell Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, photo III.58

The other identifiable elements of the Mashhad room are a simple gray marble mihrab and a white marble tomb with four imposts; neither of them carries an inscription. This simple room is covered by a dome resting on an octagonal zone of four arches and four corner squinches of a standard Damascus type (fig. 117).

Selected Reading

Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 423, plate 13; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 273–75, photos pp. 399–401; Unesco, p. 12, no. 24.

MADRASAH NĀṢIRIYYAH

Also known as the ʿIlmiyyah Islāmiyyah, it was built in A.D. 1354–60 by Sultan Hasan ibn Muḥammad, son of Qalāʾūn.

Location

One of the six madrasahs around the Great Mosque, the Nāṣiriyyah is directly across the street, between the Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan and the Madrasah Nūriyyah. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 6.

History and Inscriptions

No known written sources mention the Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, but a medallion set above its door identifies its builder and, by inference, the date of its construction (fig. 118). The inscription escaped the notice of Sobernheim, probably because heavy coats of paint have until recently obliterated the details on the façade. First read by Condé and then copied by Salem,[47] the inscription was recorded as

عــز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصــر .

"Glory to our Lord Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir." The building was consequently attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Qalāʾūn and dated between 1293 and 1340. More recently Heinz Gaube provided a longer version recorded by Tadmurī:[48]

عــز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر حسن بن محمــد .

"Glory to our Lord Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan bin Muhammad," which more accurately attributes the building to Sultan Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad "al-Nāṣir," son of Qalāʾūn, who was sultan of Egypt and Syria

[47] See Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p 45, and Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 42.
[48] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 273–74.

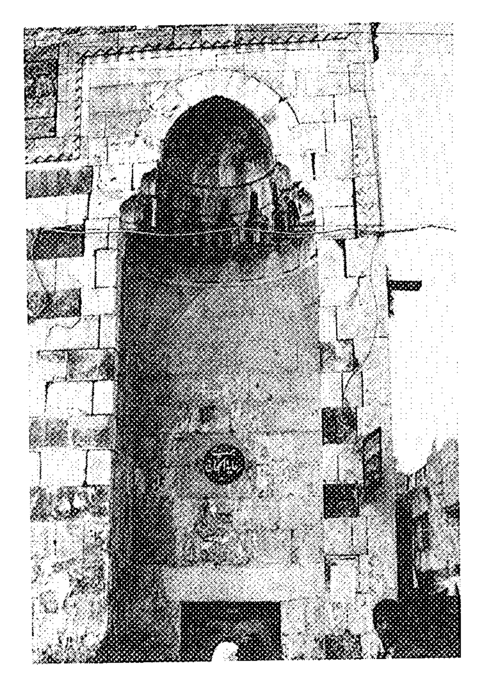


Figure 118. Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, exterior.

at three different times. Since he was rather young to have had a madrasah built during his first reign, the Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah should probably be placed in his second, between 1354 and 1360.

Description

The madrasah's façade runs the length of its southern wall and forms the centerpiece for the line of madrasahs facing the Great Mosque. It is separated by an old house from the Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan and by a modern street from the Madrasah Nūriyyah.

The façade is built in alternate courses of black and white stone and is completely enclosed by a framing band of zigzag (fig. 119), a motif that would later be copied for, and is accentuated by, the Mashhad across the street. The façade is opened by three simple windows — the lower two topped by a course of joggled stones above the lintel — and a tall gate to its extreme right.

As is often the case, the portal is the focal point of the construction and rises higher than the rest of the building (figs. 118 and 119). In contrast with the rest of the façade, the gateway is built entirely of white stone. It includes a simple rectangular door and a high muqarnas niche consisting of an empty half-dome over two rows of a stalactite muqarnas

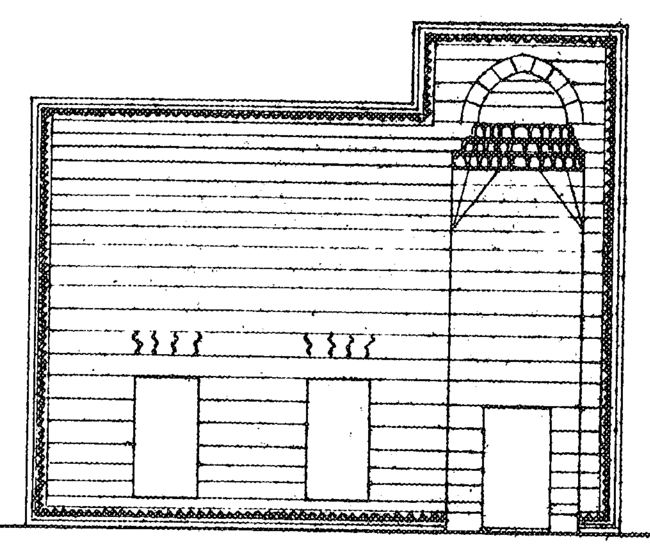


Figure 119. Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, elevation.

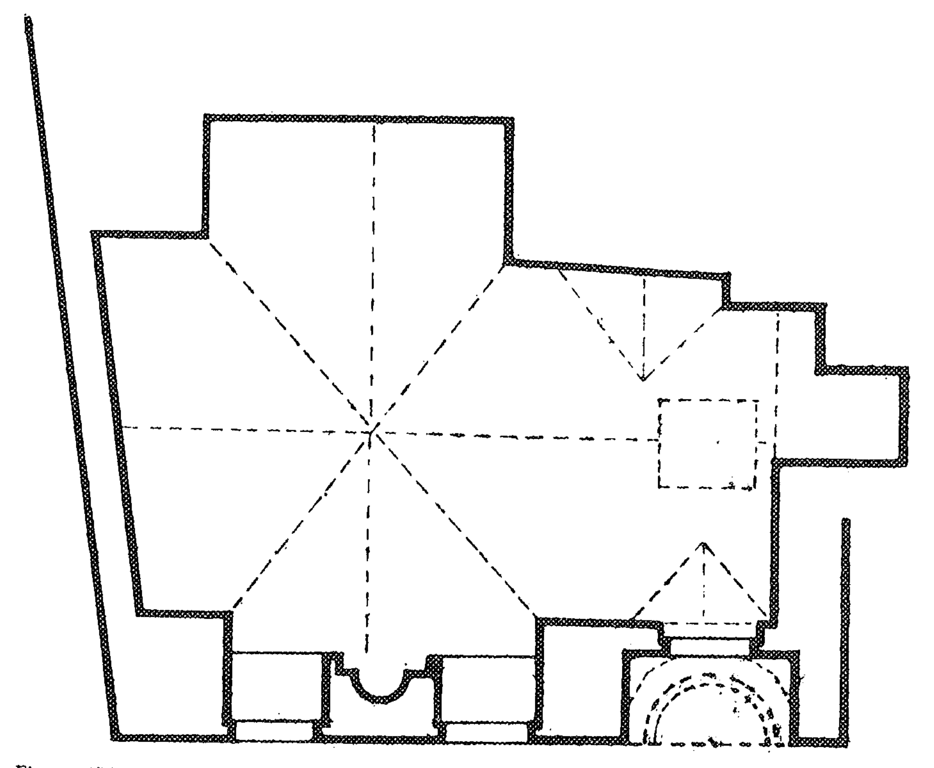


Figure 120. Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, plan.

on a row of flat muqarnas resting on two flat triangular pendentives. On the wall and in between the pendentives is set the circular medallion containing the inscription. Considering its founder, the Nāṣiriyyah is modest, but it still provides a good example of a well-organized Mamluk façade for a small provincial madrasah.

The interior of the madrasah (fig. 120) is a single large area. An awkward arrangement by the entrance leads, not into a vestibule, but directly into the madrasah proper on the left side. Of an uneven cruciform shape, this large room has a mihrab set between the two windows and is covered by simple cross-vaulting. It is of no particular architectural interest. The madrasah seems in fact to have been built as an excuse to provide a façade that would broadcast the importance of its patron. The Nāṣiriyyah still houses the library of the Great Mosque, but is now used primarily as the headquarters for a group called the Organization for the Help of Pilgrims; it is therefore open only during the Ḥajj and is inaccessible during the rest of the year.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli,* p. 45; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām,* pp. 423–24 and plate 15; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār,* pp. 273–74; Unesco, no. 9, p. 12.

MADRASAH SAQRAQIYYAH

Built in A D 1359 by Sayf al-Dīn Aqṭurāq.

Location

On the left bank of the Qadisha River, across the street from the Madrasah Khātūniyyah and to the north of the Jamiʿ Arghūn Shāh, on the road leading to Bāb al-Raml. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 25.

History and Inscriptions

The Madrasah Saqraqiyyah has one of the longest inscriptions to be found in Tripoli, with a very specific *waqfiyyah* that ought to be useful for reconstructing the socioeconomic history of fourteenth-century Syria. In addition to the details of the waqf and the ways in which its proceeds are to be spent, the inscription gives the name of the founder as Chamberlain Aqṭurāq,[49] and the date of the completion of the building as

[49] Chamberlain Aqṭurāq is not mentioned in the sources, so we have no details about his life (Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* p. 112). "Aqṭurāq," according to Sauvaget in "Noms et surnoms de Mamlouks," no. 24, p. 37, is a Turkoman word for a yogurt with herbs.

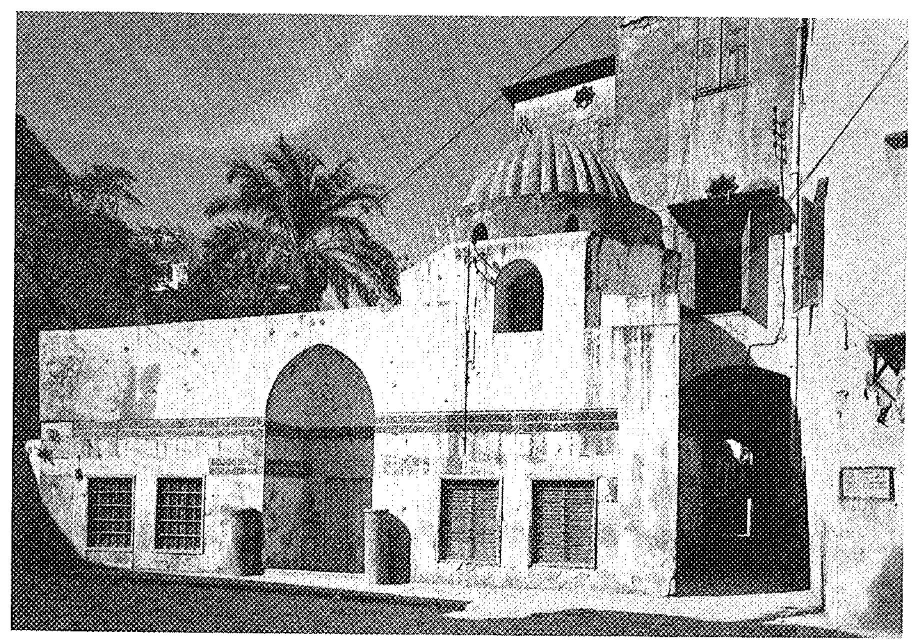


Figure 121 Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, exterior.

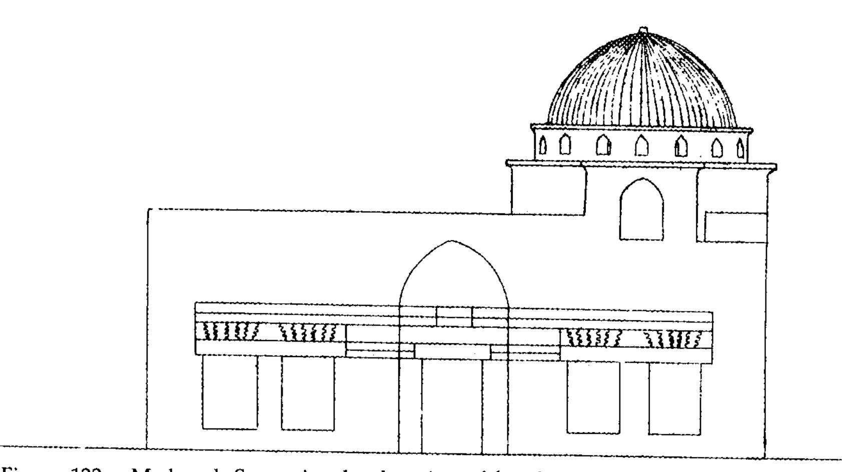


Figure 122. Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, elevation of façade

A H 760 (A D. 1359). Although known as the Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, the founding inscription specifies that the building was meant to be a funerary mosque, "a masjid with a mausoleum." But as in the case of the Burṭāsiyyah, built as a madrasah yet mainly used as a mosque, over time the Saqraqiyyah acquired a function other than the one for which it was endowed.

On the Saqraqiyyah what appears to be a continuous inscription along the façade and inside the doorway (fig. 121) is in fact two separate inscriptions: a waqf document on either side of the façade and a Qur'anic text inside the doorway.

The Qur'anic inscription, Surat al-Hijr 15.45–49, mentioned but not recorded by Sobernheim, runs in a wide band on all three sides of the gate and reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . ان المتقين فى جنات وعيون ادخلوها بسلام آمنين . ونزعنا ما فى
صدورهم من غل اخوانا على سرر متقابلين . لا يمسهم فيها نصب وما هم بمخرجين . نبئ
عبادى انى انا الغفور الرحيم .

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the God-fearing shall be amidst gardens and fountains. Enter you then in peace and security. We shall strip away all rancour that is in their breast, as brothers they shall be upon couches set face to face; no fatigue there shall smite them, neither shall they ever be driven forth from there. Tell my servants I am the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate.

The second inscription runs on two levels of two lines each on either side of the gate. It was recorded by Sobernheim[50] as follows:[51]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . وقف الجناب الكريم السيفى اقطرق الحاجب هذا المكان المبارك
مسجدا لله تعالى وتربة للدفن ، ووقف على مصالحه وعمارة اثاثه وتطاويقه جميع المزرعتين
(المتلاصقتين) من عمل حصن الاكراد ، وهما مرج السلطان وقميرة وجميع البساتين المتلاصقين
بقرية رشعين من عمل طرابلس احدهما يعرف بمسعود والآخر بابن الافرس . وجميع
الحوانيت الاربعة المتلاصقات بالصف الشرقى من سوق الحلاويين بطرابلس وجميع الدار
الملاصقة للمسجد وجميع الآدر الثلاث المتلاصقات بخان المصريين بطرابلس ، وجميع الحصة
الشائعة وقدرها والنصف والربع من جميع الدار شمالى خان المهندس بالجسر العتيق ، وجميع
الفرن المعروف بكر خولد للمسجد المذكور وقفا شرعيا . يبدأ من ريعه بعمارته واصلاحه ،
ويصرف منه فى كل شهر اربعون درهما للامام بالمسجد المذكور ، وخمسون درهما الى مؤذنين
بالنوبة يؤذنان بمأذنة المسجد المذكور ، وثلاثون درهما الى قيم المسجد والتربة ، وخمسون
درهما الى خمسة انفار يقرؤن بالمكان المذكور حزبا كاملا ، فرادى ومجتمعين . وخمسة
عشر درهما فى ثمن زيت وقناديل وآلة الكنس والاستقساء ويصرف فى يوم الاثنين من كل اسبوع
ثلاثة دراهم فى ثمن خبز ، يفرق بباب التربة . ودرهم واحد فى ثمن ماء وثلج . وكذلك
يصرف فى يوم الخميس من كل اسبوع . ويصرف فى كل شهر احدى عشر درهما فى ثمن كسوة
من قميص ولباس رفيع وغير ذلك للايتام والارامل والفقراء المسلمين . وما فضل بعد ذلك
يصرف الى من كان فقيرا محتاجا من اولاد الواقف وانساله ومن عتقائه بالسوية . فان لم
يكن فيهم محتاج صرف الى الفقراء المسلمين فى باب التربة . وشرط الواقف : النظر لنفسه ،
ثم للارشد من اولاده وانساله والى من كان امير حاجب كبيرا بطرابلس . وشرط الواقف
ان لا يؤجر وقفه باكثر من ثلاث سنين . وليصرف هذا . ولا تقدر عليه مظالم ولا مكوس حسبما
تضمن ذلك كتاب الوقف المؤرخ بمنتصف القعد ، الحرام سنة سبع وخمسين وسبعماية ، الثابت
المحكوم به بمجلس الحكم العزيز بطرابلس المحروسة . ونقش ذلك فى ربيع الاول سنة ستون
وولاء لهذا المسجد من الماء بحق واجب نصف وربع اصبع من قناة طرابلس .

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[50] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 109–11, no 49; fig 10, p 109; and pl 9

[51] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 290–93, with minor corrections to Sobernheim's reading.



Figure 123. Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, detail of façade.

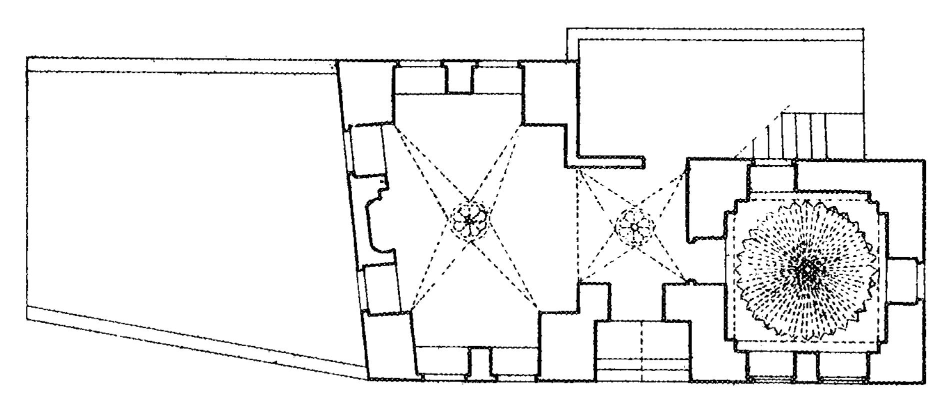


Figure 124 Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, plan

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, His Honorable Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Aqṭurāq the chamberlain has constituted as waqf this blessed place as a masjid for Allah and as a mausoleum for burial. He has provided the following waqf for its upkeep, furnishings, and decoration: the whole of the two adjoining farms in the district of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [Krac des Chevaliers], known as the Field of the Sultan and Qumayra; and the whole of the orchards adjoining the village of Rish'īn in the district of Ṭarāblus, one known as Mas'ūd and the other as Bāb al-Aframī; and the whole of the four

shops set on the eastern side of the Confectioners' Suq [*suq al-hālawīyyin*] in Tripoli; and the whole of the house adjoining the masjid; and all of the three houses in the vicinity of the Khan al-Miṣriyyīn in Tripoli; and the whole of the dispersed portion and its value; and the half and the quarter of the entire house to the north of the engineer's khan by the old bridge; and the whole of the oven known as Kurr Khūlid, for the masjid mentioned and legally constituted as waqf. As for the use of the revenue, it is to begin with the building and its upkeep after which the following is to be spent each month: forty dirhams for the imām of the mosque; fifty dirhams for the two mu'azzins who take turns in prayers from the minaret of the said mosque;[52] thirty dirhams for the intendant of the mosque and mausoleum; fifty dirhams for five people to read prayers in the said mosque together and individually; fifteen dirhams for the price of oil, of lamps, of cleaning equipment, and for the bringing of water And to be spent on each Monday of every week are three dirhams for bread, to be distributed by the door of the mausoleum, and one single dirham for the price of water and ice; and, in the same fashion, to be spent on the Thursday of each week and every month are eleven dirhams for the price of clothing, such as a shirt and fine clothes and other things, for Muslim orphans, widows, and poor people. And whatever remains after that is to be spent on whoever is poor or needy among the children of he who provided the waqf, or their descendants or his freed slaves, with no distinctions. And if there are no needy among them, the money is to be distributed to the Muslims among the poor by the door of the mausoleum. For the supervision of the above he has designated himself, then the wisest of his children and descendants, and whoever is an important chamberlain in Tripoli. He has also stipulated that the waqf is not to be rented for more than three years at a time, that the revenue is to be spent and not to be subjected to abuse and alleged taxes as is specified in the written waqf dated in the middle of zū al ʿIqdah al-Harām in the year seven hundred and fifty-seven [November 9, 1356] and duly registered in the court of justice in Tripoli the protected And this was inscribed in Rabiʿ al-awwal in the year [seven hundred and] sixty [February 1359]. And the right of water for this masjid, a legal right, is in the amount of three-quarters of an inch from the aqueduct of Tripoli.

Description

From the outside, the Saqraqiyyah presents a simple façade of plaster-covered sandstone (fig. 121). If we exclude the dome set to the north over the tomb chamber, it is perfectly symmetrical, with a central gateway, a simple, deep, arched entrance with the bands of inscription as the only decoration (fig. 122). Two granite columns from ancient remains once stood on either side of the entrance. The one still remaining is similar to the classical columns in Ṭaynāl's mosque and in the interior courtyard of the Great Mosque.

[52] The Saqraqiyyah has no minaret

The two walls on either side of the entrance are identical in size and arrangement. They are each opened by two windows, surrounded by alternating courses of black and white stone; a course of geometric decoration which forms a lintel topped by a course of complex joggled stone joins the two windows. On each side, the decorative course above the windows has a heraldic shield in its center, whose round blazon has a sword placed diagonally across a three-fielded shield (fig. 123). The emblem has been identified by Mayer[53] as that of Aqṭurāq, his Honorable Excellency the chamberlain.

The Saqraqiyyah Masjid has no minaret, unusual for a mosque where the call for prayer requires one, and all the more puzzling because the waqf inscribed on the façade states the exact salary to be paid to the "two mu'azzins who take turns praying from the minaret of the said mosque." It is possible that the minaret was subsequently either pulled down or fell down and was not rebuilt, but more probably it was planned but never actually constructed.

The dome identifies the building from a distance. Its ribbed cupola rests on a circular sixteen-sided area over an octagonal drum with four arched windows and four blank corners, the whole reflecting the interior of the superstructure.

The plan (fig. 124) shows a very simple and clear interior consisting of a small entrance hall behind the main door, a prayer room with mihrab to the left behind the left wall segment of the façade, and a tomb chamber to the right beneath the dome.

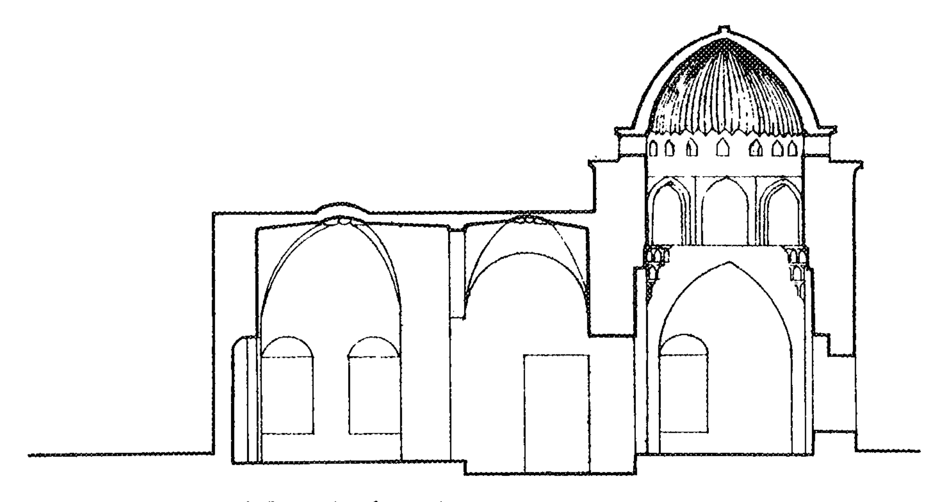


Figure 125. Madrasah Saqraqiyyah, section

[53] L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 71

The central area is a simple hall, too small to have had any particular function. It is covered by typically Tripoli vaulting of concave lines meeting in a rosette. The prayer area to the left is entered from the north through the vestibule, and each of its three other walls are opened by a pair of windows. Like the vestibule, it is covered by Tripoli vaulting meeting in a concave rosette.

The tomb chamber is clearly the most important element of the building both inside and out. A square room entered through a door from the vestibule, it has two windows on its eastern wall, one to the north, and a door to the west. The room is covered by one of the most decorative superstructures in Tripoli: the dome is all ribbed inside (figs. 124 and 125), giving the room a star cupola effect in relief; and the four Damascus type of corner concave niches in the octagonal zone and the alternate niches in the sixteen-sided zone have an applied plaster decoration[54] of stylized vegetation resembling Sassanian wing motifs. It is a more simplified version of the stucco decoration found in the flat arches on the drum of the mausoleum of Ibn al-Muqaddam in Damascus built about 1200.[55] It was as unusual a shape and motif in Damascus as it was in Tripoli, where plaster decoration usually takes the shape of round medallions applied to the wall and is rarely seen on domes or corner squinches.[56]

This domed tomb chamber with its ribbed cupola and its plaster-decorated squinches is clearly the most important part of the building; its visibility from the outside suggests it may even have been its raison-d'être. To perpetuate his name, Aqṭurāq built an important funerary chamber and an exceedingly simple masjid (which apparently never served that function), and anxious that it remain as he wished it after his death he composed his detailed *waqfiyyahs* and had them inscribed and legally registered right on the building.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 55–56, photo 55; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 109–11, Inscription 49, plate 11; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 71; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 430; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 290–93, photo p. 405; Unesco, no. 25, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 426–27.

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[54] For illustration, see photo in Unesco publication cited above, n 1.

[55] See illustration in Selim ʿAbdul Hak and Khaled Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas* (Damascus: Publications de la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, n d.), p. 89

[56] As in the Hospital of al-Qaymarī, for example (1248), illustration, ʿAbdul Hak and Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas*, p. 90.

MADRASAH ʿAJAMIYYAH

Built in A D 1365 by Muḥammad al-Sukkar.

Location

On the left bank of the Qadisha River, east of the stairs leading down from the Citadel to the Suq al-ʿAṭṭārīn, at a corner next to the Zuqāq al-Ḍinnāwī. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 35.

History and Inscriptions

This small, corner madrasah carries two inscriptions: a founding inscription on the alley side and a Qurʾanic inscription on the façade by the stairs. The first (fig. 126), two lines of naskh carved on the lintel over the door, reads:[57]

> أمر بانشاء هذه التربة المباركة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد السكر عفا الله عنه. وكان
> الفراغ (منها فى) مستهل (شهر) رمضان سنة ستة وستين وسبعماية .

> The pious slave of God, Muhammad al-Sukkar, may God forgive him, has ordered the construction of this blessed mausoleum. It was com-



Figure 126. Madrasah ʿAjamiyyah, entrance.

[57] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p 113, Inscription no 50 The words in parentheses were missed by Sobernheim and published by Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p 303

> pleted at the beginning of the month of Ramadan in the year seven hundred and sixty-six [May A D 1365].

The founder of this mausoleum, Muḥammad al-Sukkar, would be totally unknown were it not for an inscription in Damietta that also bears his name. The minbar he endowed in Damietta is dated Rajab 771 (February 1370) and gives his name as "al-Ḥajj Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭarābulsī known as al-Sukkar."[58] After building his mausoleum in Tripoli in 1365, al-Sukkar went on a pilgrimage to Mecca (he is known to have been on a Ḥajj in 1370) and on his return endowed the minbar in Damietta. He probably died in Egypt, for he was not buried in his mausoleum; had he been, the madrasah which shelters the tomb would have been named after him. Instead it is known as the ʿAjamiyyah, probably after a Persian buried in it.[59]

The other text, a large and bold inscription above the windows on the main façade side of the ʿAjamiyyah (fig. 127), is not recorded by Sobernheim. It is a Qurʾanic text (Surat al-Dukhān, 55: 51–54) with stylized flowers at either end and scattered in the field of the inscription. It reads:[60]

ان المتقين فى مقام أمين . فى جنات وعيون . يلبسون ثيابا من سندس واستبرق متقابلين
كذلك ، وزوجناهم بحور عين .

> Surely the God-fearing shall be in a station secure among gardens and fountains, robed in silk and brocade, set face to face. Even so and we shall espouse them to wide-eyed houris.

This text, which often appears on mausoleums, is more important for its decorative value than for its contents, for it does not add to our understanding or interpretation of the building.

Description

The ʿAjamiyyah presents a very simple cube at the corner of two streets; its only adornments are the two inscriptions. Its front side is framed by an arch which is opened by two rectangular windows topped by the Qurʾanic inscription (fig. 127), and its entrance side has only a plain door with the founding lintel (fig. 126).

The interior is equally plain. Two rooms, a madrasah and a mausoleum, comprise the whole monument. The madrasah room is now a storeroom, and the mausoleum room has a marble tomb decorated with Qurʾanic inscriptions but no text to tell us who is buried there. The

[58] Reported by Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 114, n 3
[59] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 302.
[60] Ibid , p 303.

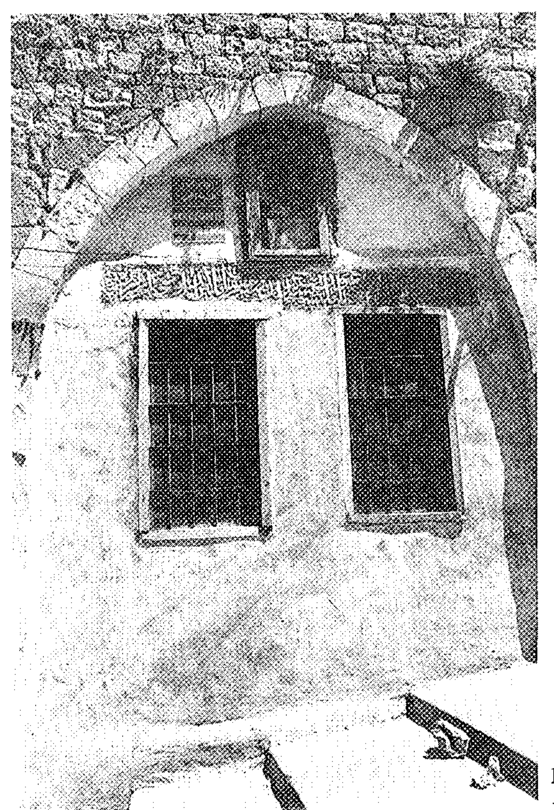


Figure 127. Madrasah ʿAjamiyyah, western wall

ʿAjamiyyah is a typical example of a small, religious building, endowed by an ordinary man seeking to immortalize his name before departing on the Ḥajj in case he did not return; he could only afford a modest unadorned structure.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 28, photo p. 27; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 113–14, Inscription 50, plate 11; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 434; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 302–3; Unesco, no. 21, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 429.

MADRASAH KHĀTŪNIYYAH

Built in AD 1373–74 by Arghūn Khātūn and her husband ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Ashrafī.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, across the street from the Saqraqiyyah and to the north of the Mosque of Arghūn Shāh, on the street leading to Bāb al-Raml. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 26.

History and Inscriptions

The Khātūniyyah was built as a funerary madrasah in accordance with the will of Arghūn Khātūn, the freed-slave wife of Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Ashrafī. As in the case of the Saqraqiyyah, the lengthy founding inscription in the entrance bay gives the names of the founders and the dates of the establishment of the waqf as A.H. 773 (A D. 1371) and the completion of the building as A H 775 (A.D. 1373–74), and lists the waqf along with precise and minute details regarding the distribution of its revenues. It is clear from the *waqfiyyah* that Arghūn Khātūn was a very pious woman: she took care that after her death prayers would continuously be read by her tomb, the Muslim poor would be fed, and orphans clothed and educated. Married to a man of wealth and stature she could afford to donate a waqf that would ensure the maintenance of her will.

Her husband, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Unūkī al-Ashrafī al-Dawadārī, was originally a Mamluk of Unuk, son of Sultan Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, who became a guard of Sultan Ḥasan with whom he had good relations. He eventually was made his secretary *(dawadār)* and was influential at court. After the sultan's death ʿIzz al-Dīn was sent to Syria and subsequently appointed governor of Tripoli, a post he held until 1371, the date of the *waqfiyyah*'s establishment. Sobernheim gives a full account of Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn's life drawn from his biographies found in the *Manhal,* in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk.*[61]

The founding inscription (figs. 128 and 129) is set over the door of the entrance bay. It is organized in three sections and reads consecutively, although the first ten lines are interrupted by a decorative panel and are followed by a band of four lines separated from another band of four lines by a course of ablaq. The eighteen lines of the inscription read:[62]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد أنشأ هذا
المكان المبارك مولانا المقر الاشرف العالى المولوى المخدومى الكافلى العزى ايدمر
الاشرفى مولانا ملك الامراء اعز الله انصاره فى شركة آدره الكريمه الجهة المصونة ارغون
تغمدها الله برحمته حسب وصيتها المتقدمة ووقفت جميع القيسارية المعروفة بالدهيشة
وبساكن الحريرين والحوانيت التسعة والمقعدات لدى ذالك خارجها ومعروفين بهما

61 Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* pp 118–21
62 Ibid , pp 114–18, Inscription no. 51.

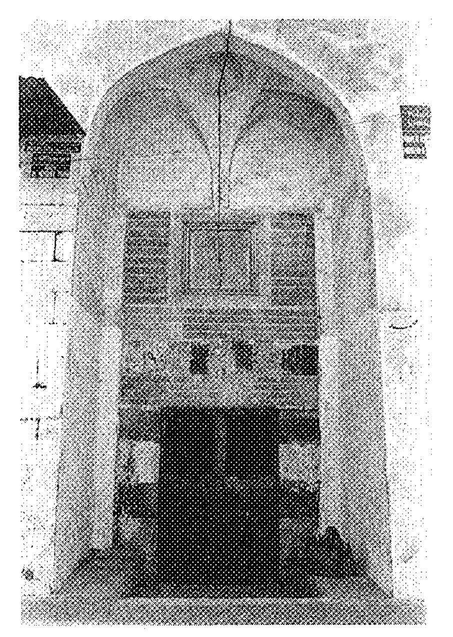


Figure 128 Madrasah Khâtûniyyah, main entrance.

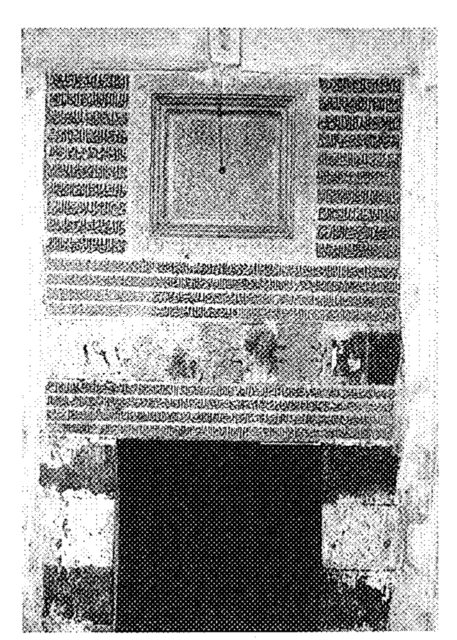


Figure 129. Madrasah Khâtûniyyah, inscription over door.

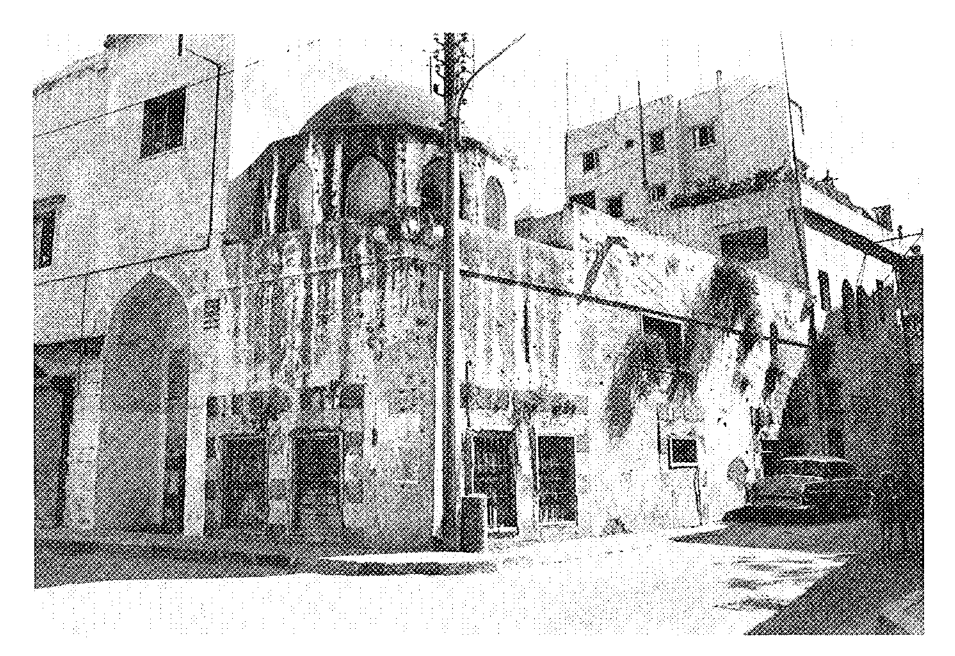


Figure 130. Madrasah Khâtûniyyah, exterior view.

ويعلق عليها باب بالمقصد خارج الباب القبلي ملاصق له عن يمنه الداخل منه ومن
الحوانيت التسعة اربع حوانيت كبار ملاصقات لها عن يمنة الدخل من بابها القبلي حانوتان
وعن يسرته حانوتان والخمسة اقباء ملاصقات القيسارية ايضا وجميع الحوانيت الثلاثة
المتلاصقات تجاه باب القيسارية القبلي وجميع الحوانيت المتلاصقين بوسط السوق الشرقي
بالصف الشرقي بالقرب من قيسارية التجار وموقع ذلك جميعه بطرابلس المحروسة على نفسها
مدة حياتها ثم من بعدها يصرف ذلك على الوجوه الآتي شرحها فيه وهو أن الناظر في
الوقف شرعيا يقرر بان التربة التي عينت للواقفة وتدفن بها اربعة حفاظ من القرآن العزيز
ويقرر لهم من المعلوم ما اقتضاه رأيه على انهم يردون كل يوم الى تربة الواقفة ويقرأون
ربعا كاملا من القرآن الكريم ويدعون عقيب القراءة للواقفة ومعتقها زوجها المشار اليه اعلاه
ويترحمون عليها ويسألون الله عز وجل لها بالعفو والمغفرة ويهدون ثواب القراة الى
روحهما ويشركون جميع المسلمين في الدعاء ويختمون الدعاء بالصلوة على رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم ويجعلون ختم القرآن في كل ليله جمعة بحسب انهم يقرؤن على قبرها في
كل سبعة ايام ختمه كاملة فاذا كانت ليلة كل جمعة يجتمعون بالتربة ومن حضر معهم من
المسلمين ومساكينهم يختمون الختمة الشريفة على قبرها ويدعون ويترحمون كما تقدم وان
يعمل الناظر الشرعي في لونين من الطعام حسبما يقتضيه رأيه القرآن العزيز وان يصرف
بالتربة ما يحتاج اليه من فرش وغير شئ ومعاز قائم مقيم يقوم بها بكنسها وتنغيضها وفرشها
وتنييرها وان يجعل لطرابلس كتاب ايتام ويرتب به فقيها وثمانية صبيان ايتام ليجلس لهم
الفقية علا العادة يقريهم القرآن ويعلمهم الكتابة وكل ما ختم القرآن العزيز او مات او اعرض
عن الحضور للتعليم يرتب الناظر غيره من ايتام المسلمين وان يقرر للمعلم في شهر مبلغ
ثلاثين درهم يصرف اليه وان يصرف الى كل واحد من الايتام كل يوم ربع درهم ويكسى كل
منهم كسوة كاملة حسبما رآه الناظر من قميص وقبع ولباس ومتاع ومال هذا الواقف عند انقطاع
سبله وتعديه جهاته الى الفقراء والمساكين من المسلمين والبدأة من ربع ذالك بعمارته
وشرطت التصرف لنفسها ولها ان تثبت وتوكل فيه وتسنده الى من شاءت ثم من بعدها
يكون النظر لمعتقها مولانا ملك الامراء المشار اليه اعلاه اعز الله انصاره ثم الارشد
بالارشد من اولاده منها ثم الى من شرطته في كتاب وقفها المؤرخ في الثالث والعشرين
من شعبان سنة ثلاث وسبعين وسبعمائه وبتولى عمارة هذا المكان المبارك جميعه الفقير
الى الله تعالى الامير جمال الدين يوسف ابن المرحوم العزى غزان السيفى اثابه الله
تعالى بالاجر العالى اعلاه الله تعالى وكان الفراغ من ذلك في سنة خمس وسبعين وسبعمائة .

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, Glory to Allah, God of the universe and may God bless our Lord Muhammad, our master has built this blessed place, the very noble, high excellency, the master, the well served, the governor ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamīr al-Ashrafī, our master king of the princes, may God fortify his victories in concert with his noble wife, the well-guarded Lady Arghūn, may God protect her with His mercy, according to the will previously prepared by her. She has constituted as waqf: the entire qayṣariyyah known as Duhaysha and the establishment of silk weavers, and the nine shops and stores to the outside of it and known after it—and the store to the outside of the qiblah wall attached to it to the right hand side of the person entering it, and of the nine shops: four large shops next to it, to the right hand side of the person entering it from the qiblah door, two shops to the left and two to the right, the other five shops also next to the qayṣariyyah; and the whole of the three adjoining shops facing the qiblah door of the qayṣariyyah; and all the shops adjoining the center of the eastern suq in the eastern row close to the qayṣariyyah of the merchants; all these plans being located in Tripoli the well guarded She [constituted these as waqf] for herself during her lifetime, and afterwards it is to be spent in accordance with the following specifications, that the legal director of the waqf shall establish, to the mausoleum which was designated for her who



Figure 131. Madrasah Khātūniyyah, blazon on western façade.

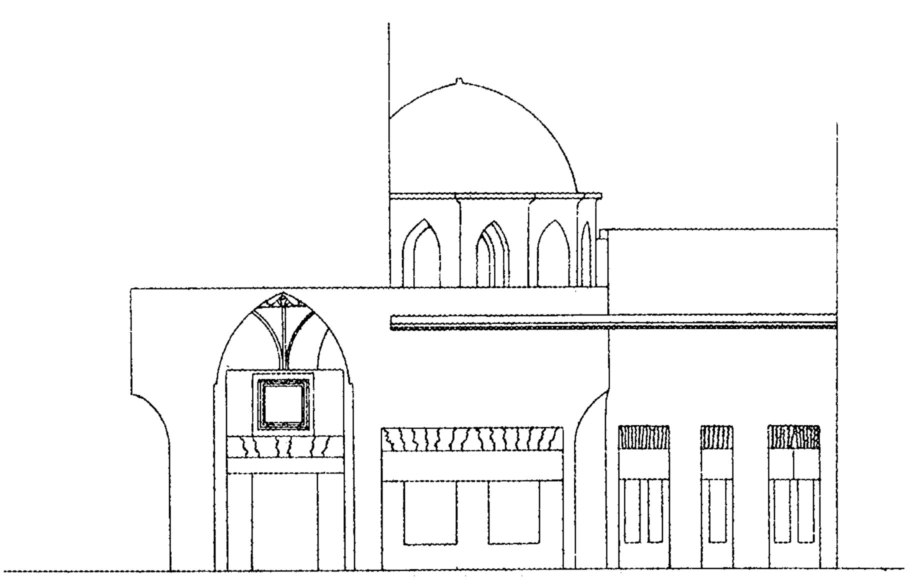


Figure 132 Madrasah Khātūniyyah, elevation of north façade

established the waqf, and in which she is to be buried, four men knowing the Qur'an by heart [*ḥuffāz*] to whom he shall give a salary according to his judgment, on condition that they go daily to the mausoleum of the founder and recite a complete quarter of the Qur'an and pray afterwards for the founder and for him who freed her, her husband above mentioned, and implore God for His mercy for both of them and His forgiveness and indulgence, and that they transmit the benefits of the reading [of the Qur'an] to the souls of the two [founders] and that they associate all Muslims in the prayer, and finish the prayer with prayers for the Prophet, and arrange things in such a way as to complete the whole Qur'an on the eve of each Friday, thus reading on her grave a complete Qur'an weekly. And whoever comes with them from among the Muslims and the poor should also complete the noble reading on her grave, pray for her, and implore for her mercy, as mentioned above. Also the legal supervisor is to prepare two different meals as he sees proper in his own judgment, and get a quintal of good pure bread flour and put it in the mausoleum for distribution to the poor of Muḥammad's people, and this is to take place every Friday eve after the completion of the reading of the noble Qur'an Also he is to spend for the mausoleum on whatever is needed in terms of furnishings and other [things] as well as pay a permanent intendant whose job is to sweep and clean and dust and furnish and light the mausoleum. He is also to establish in Tripoli a primary school for orphans and employ a salaried scholar and eight orphan boys with whom the scholar should sit, as is customary, and teach the reading of the Qur'an as well as writing; and whenever one of the students finishes the Qur'an, dies, or stops attending, the director is to find a replacement from among the Muslim orphans He is to provide the scholar with a salary of thirty dirhams each month, give each of the orphans a quarter of a dirham per day, and provide him with complete clothing as the supervisor sees fit in terms of a shirt, a hat, trousers, a coat, and a change of clothes. And the income from this waqf, when and if the ways and means of its distribution should stop, is to go to the poor among the Muslims. The beginning of the revenue should go for the construction. And she has retained for herself the right to use the income as she pleases and to give its custody to whomever she wants, and then after her life the supervision devolves on him who freed her, our master king of the amirs mentioned above, may God strengthen his victories, then on the wisest, followed by the wisest of his children born from her, then on the person specified in the written waqf dated twenty-third Sha'bān of the year seven hundred and seventy-three [March 1372]. And the pious Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, son of the late 'Izz al-Dīn Ghazān al-Sayfī, has supervised the construction of this whole blessed place, may God bestow on him a high reward. The completion of this was in the year seven hundred and seventy-five [1373–74]

Description

The Khātūniyyah is a corner building (fig. 130), with façades on its north and west; the northern one includes the main entrance (fig. 132). It is opened by a portal and a set of double windows framed in alternate

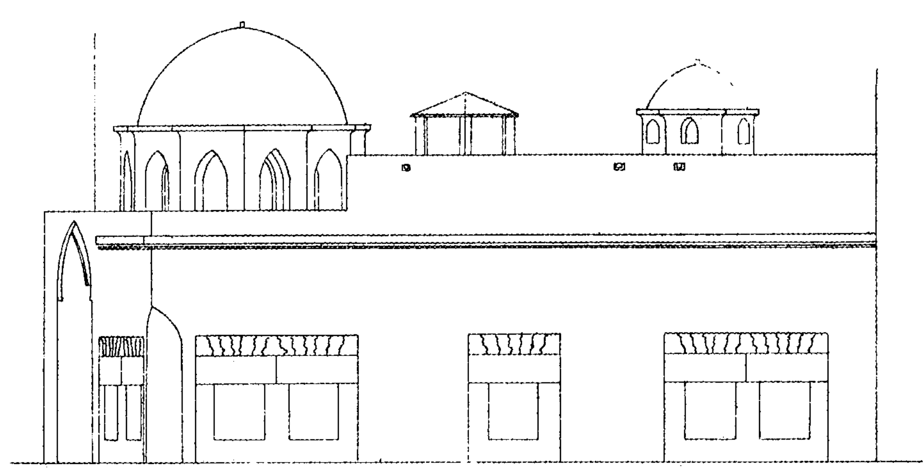


Figure 133. Madrasah Khātūniyyah, elevation of west façade.

Figure 134 Madrasah Khātūniyyah, plan

courses of black and white stone topped by a course of joggled stone. The gateway itself (fig. 128) is a tall, arched opening of no particular architectural or decorative merit. The wall with the door has a simple decoration of black and white stones with one course of complex joggling between the two bands of inscription. Above, the vertical inscriptions frame a square plaque containing a geometric star motif in relief (fig. 129) that often appears on metal work.[63] In place of the more common, but also more expensive, muqarnas hood, the upper part of this deep archway has a concave Tripoli rosette over two deeply set arches. This gateway seems to have influenced that of the nearby Mosque of Arghūn Shâh, which was built some twenty-five years later in an even simpler version. Such entrances with two areas instead of one, often two semi-domes framed by an arch, were popular in fifteenth-century Cairo[64] at a time when breaking up the unity of the façade was common practice.

The west façade (fig. 133) has five windows organized in an arrangement of double-single-double, using the same framing of black and white stones and joggled course as the main façade, except that here the lintels of the double windows have three blazons set at either end and in the middle of each lintel. They all display the same cup on the middle field of a three-fielded shield (fig. 131). According to Mayer,[65] this blazon is associated with the name of Aydamur al-Anūkī, the husband of Arghūn Khātūn.

Of the superstructure all that can be seen from the outside is the dome over the tomb chamber at the corner (fig. 130). A plain cupola is set over an octagonal zone opened by eight deep arches (now mostly blocked) resting on the roof. The small dome seen on the elevation (fig. 133) is not visible from the street.

For many years now, the Khātūniyyah has been inhabited by an exceedingly pious old man who will not allow anyone into the building. But luckily we do have a plan (fig. 134) and a cross-section (fig. 135) drawn in 1953 by architects from the Department of Antiquities in Lebanon. They show a rambling building with a central entrance, what seems to be a dwelling area to the east, and the main part of the monument containing tomb chamber and prayer hall to the west. The tomb chamber is, as expected, the most important room of the building, and its dome, which is plain from the outside, inside shows a system of narrow concave ribs alternating with wider ribs.

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[63] As, for example, on the monumental doors of Sultan Barqūq

[64] Examples can be seen on the gates of Qaymas al-Ishāqī, 1480 (Creswell, photo VII 8); and Abū Bakr Mizhir, 1479 (Creswell, photo VI.92).

[65] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, pp. 85–86.

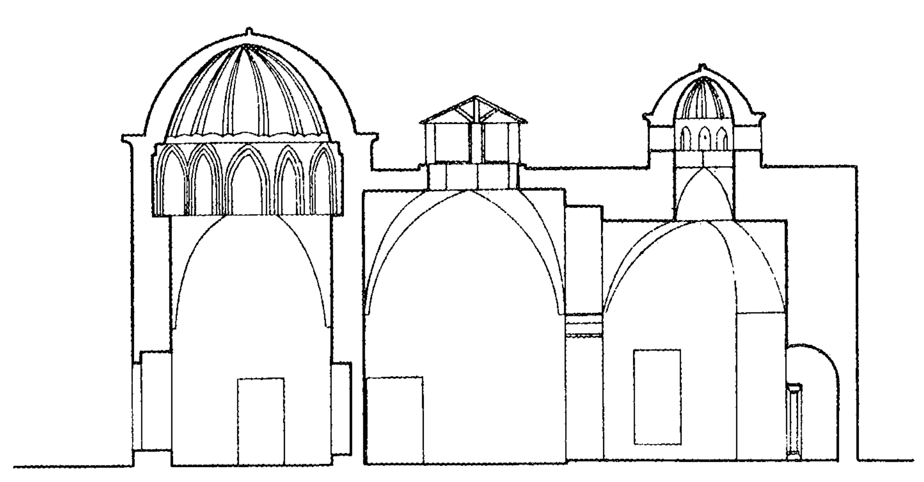


Figure 135 Madrasah Khātūniyyah, section.

The two areas forming a corridor by the entrance are both covered with cross-vaulting having the Tripoli type of concave edges and central rosette. The prayer room with an askew mihrab has a complex superstructure (fig. 135) designed to make this small unit seem as lofty as possible.

The Khātūniyyah is large for a funerary monument but otherwise not particularly ostentatious or elaborate, reflecting the will of the founder who did not seem to want to attract attention, but did want to make ample provisions for the needy. She could certainly have afforded something more grandiose, but preferred to put her money in businesses that would provide revenues to support prayer and charitable activities.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 56–58, photo p. 57; Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, 6: 129; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 114–22, Inscription 51, plate 12; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, pp. 85–86; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 431; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 295–301; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 427.

MADRASAH ẒĀHIRIYYAH

Built in A.D. 1396 by Taghrī Birmish al-Ẓāhirī.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River on the road to the Mawlawiyyah, to the southwest of the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 18.

History and Inscriptions

The combined madrasah and mausoleum known as the Ẓāhiriyyah was almost completely destroyed by the flood of 1955. Nothing remains of its renowned and beautiful marble mosaics,[66] and its layout can barely be discerned. It consisted of a long vaulted hall (the madrasah) and a domed chamber (the mausoleum), whose external wall is still standing (fig. 136), with its arched upper window and arched door. The lintel above the door (fig. 137) carries an inscription which tells us the story of the building. Five lines of small naskh read:[67]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم المال والبنون زينة الحياة الدنيا والباقيات الصالحات خير عند
ربك ثوابا وخيرا ملا قوله الحق وله الملك عمر هذا المكان المبارك المقر السيفي تغرى برمش
الظاهرى اعز الله انصاره مسجدا لله تعالى وتربة لدفن ولديه الاخوين الشقيقين السعيدين
الشهيدين سيدى امير قانتمر وسيدى امير تغرى بردى الطفلين المتمصبين على الدنيا
المتحابين فى دار الدنيا والمجاورين فى دار الاخرة تغمدهما الله برحمته واسكنهما فسيح
جنته وجمع بينهما وبين والديهما فى دار كرامة وذلك فى ثالث شهر الله المحرم سنة تسع
وتسعين وسبعمائه رحم الله من ترحم عليهما .

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, wealth and sons are the adornment of the present world: but the abiding things, the deeds of righteousness, are better with God in reward and better

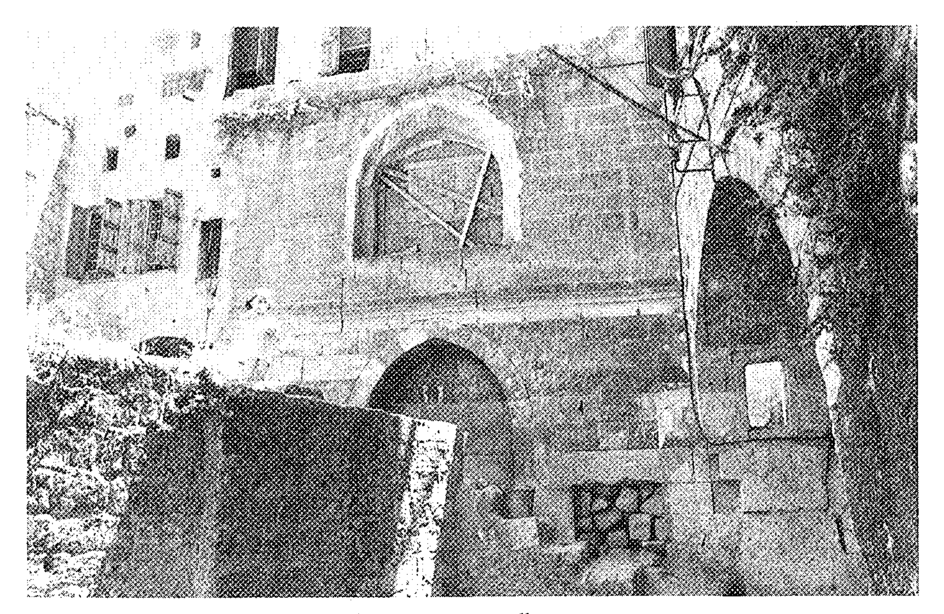


Figure 136 Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah, remaining wall.

[66] See photo of marble mosaic mihrab in Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p 129.
[67] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 122 ff , Inscription no. 52.

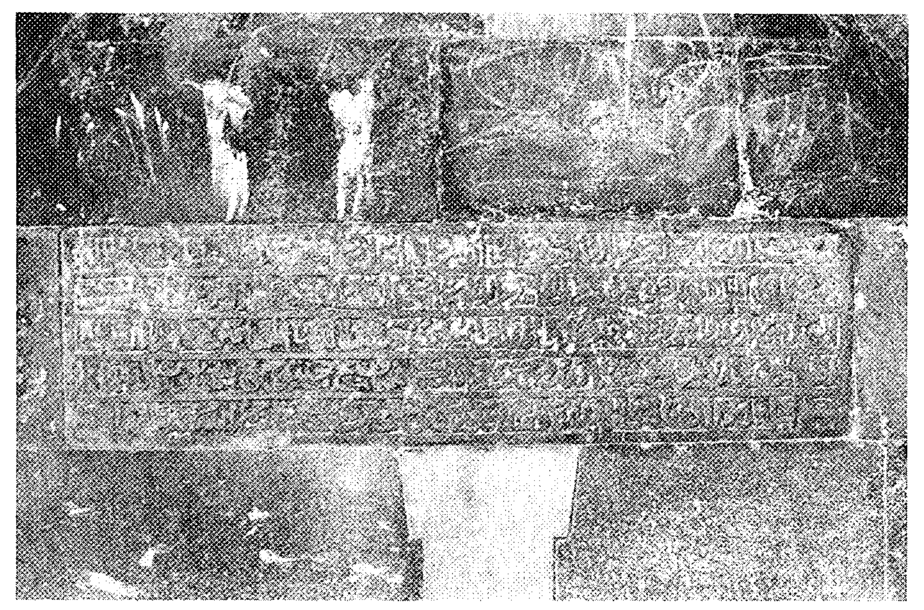


Figure 137. Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah, inscription above door.

in hope.[68] His word is truth, and power belongs to Him.[69] His Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Taghrī Birmish al-Ẓāhirī has built this blessed place, may God strengthen his victories, as a mosque for God and a mausoleum for the burial of his two sons, the two brothers, the happy ones, the martyrs, Sīdī Amir Qāntamir and Sīdī Amir Taghrī Bardī, the two children united against the world, loving each other in this world and united in the other world, may God protect them with His grace, give them a dwelling in the vast paradise and unite them with their parents in a house of respect, and this in the third of the month of God Muḥarram in the year seven hundred and ninety-nine [October 7, 1396]. May God have pity on those who implore His pity for them.

The essential information in this inscription is that His Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Taghrī Birmish al-Ẓāhirī built a mosque for God and a mausoleum for his two sons in October 1396. The two small blazons at either end of the last line of the inscription are circular and divided into three fields, containing a cup in the middle and lower ones. This blazon has been identified by Mayer[70] as that of Taghrī Birmish, whom we otherwise know only as a distinguished warrior.[71] This inscription is all

[68] Qur'an (Cave Surah) 18.44

[69] Qur'an (Cattle Surah) 6 73.

[70] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 124.

[71] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 304–7, gives a lengthy biography of Taghrī Birmish.

that remains today of the mosque-mausoleum built by a bereaved father for his two young sons and it is chiefly of interest only for its private commemorative character.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 127–28, photo p. 129; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 122 ff., Inscription 52; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 214; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 431–32; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 304–8; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 427–28.

MADRASAH ṬUWAYSHIYYAH

Built around A.D. 1471 by Amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ṭuwāshī.

Location

In the Jeweler's Suq *(suq al-ṣāghah)* at the corner of the old Mamluk alley of Zuqāq al-ʿAbd which leads to the Hammam al-ʿAbd through a passageway covered by badly damaged tunnel vaulting. It is on a line with, and to the east of, the madrasahs facing the Great Mosque. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 9.

History and Inscriptions

The Ṭuwayshiyyah reveals no founding inscription or other information. The only inscriptions to be found are on the tomb, and they are Qurʾanic. Badly damaged and out of order, they have been deciphered and published by Tadmurī.[72]

Amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Ṭuwāshī, whose name is known to us from the records of the *maḥkamah sharʿiyyah*, died in A H 875/A.D. 1471; otherwise very little is known about him, apart from the fact that the name in Arabic, *ṭawāshī*, plural *ṭawāshiyah*, means eunuch. Eunuchs worked in palaces and in harems, and according to the Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī enjoyed power and influence in Mamluk times.[73] But precisely who Sayf al-Dīn was, what he did, and when and why he came to Tripoli, we do not know.

Description

The small funerary madrasah has a composed façade running the width of the building and facing the Jeweler's Suq (fig. 138). It is built of local

[72] Ibid., p. 289
[73] Al-Maqrīzī in *Khiṭaṭ*, quoted by Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 287.

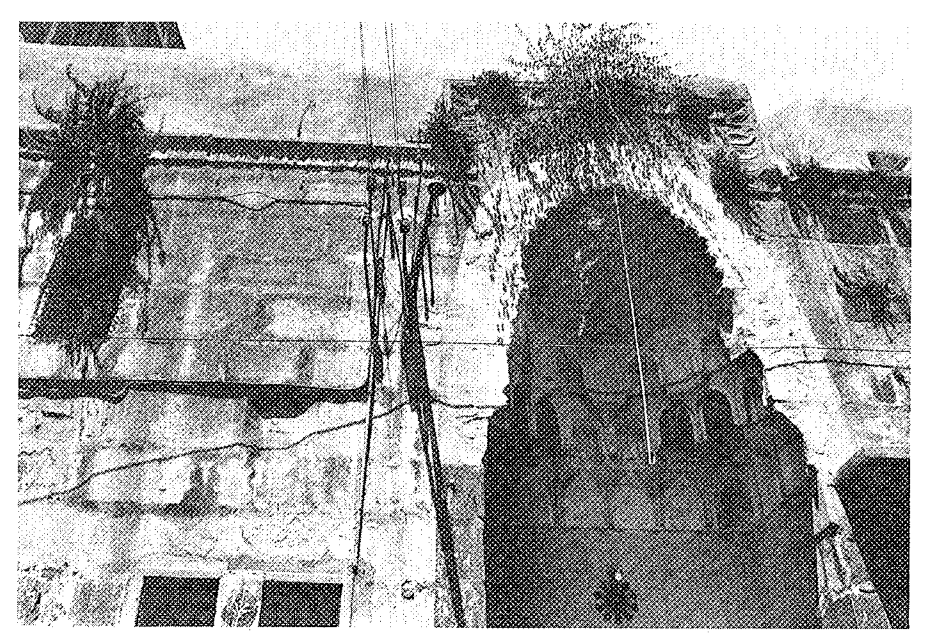


Figure 138. Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, façade.

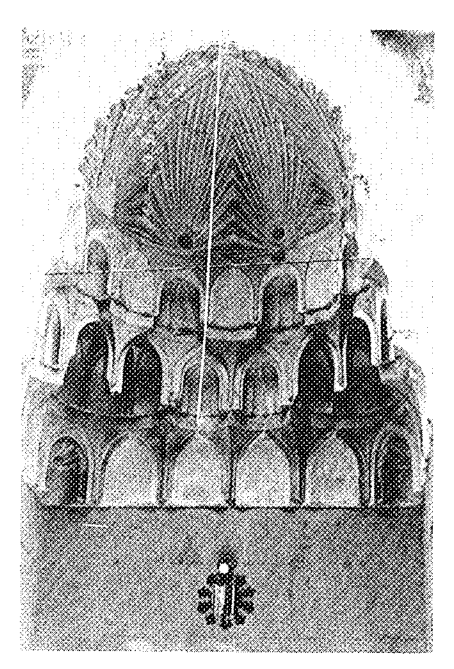


Figure 139 Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, hood of portal

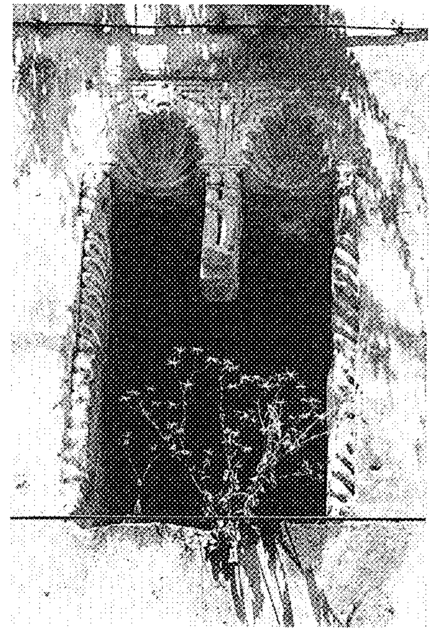


Figure 140. Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, double window on façade.

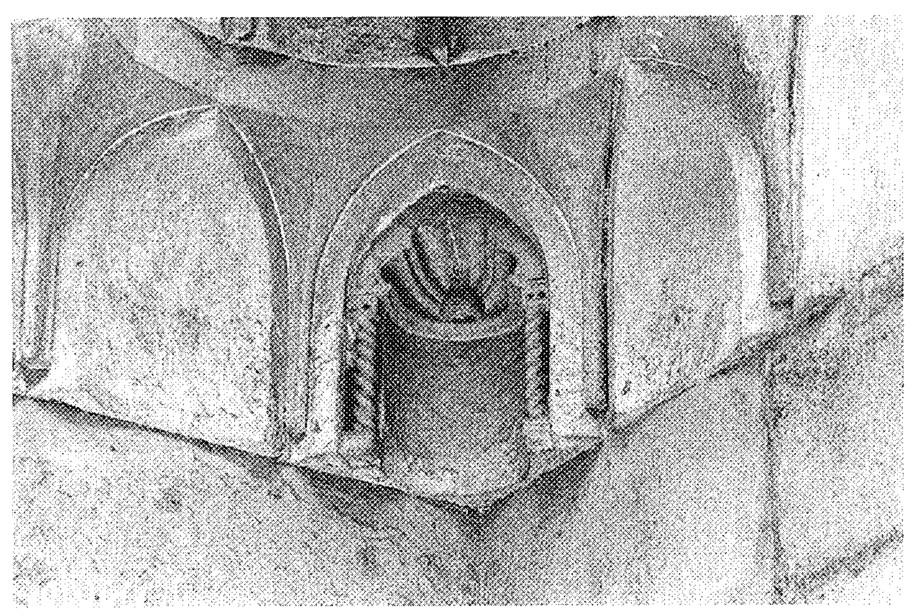


Figure 141 Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, detail of muqarnas portal

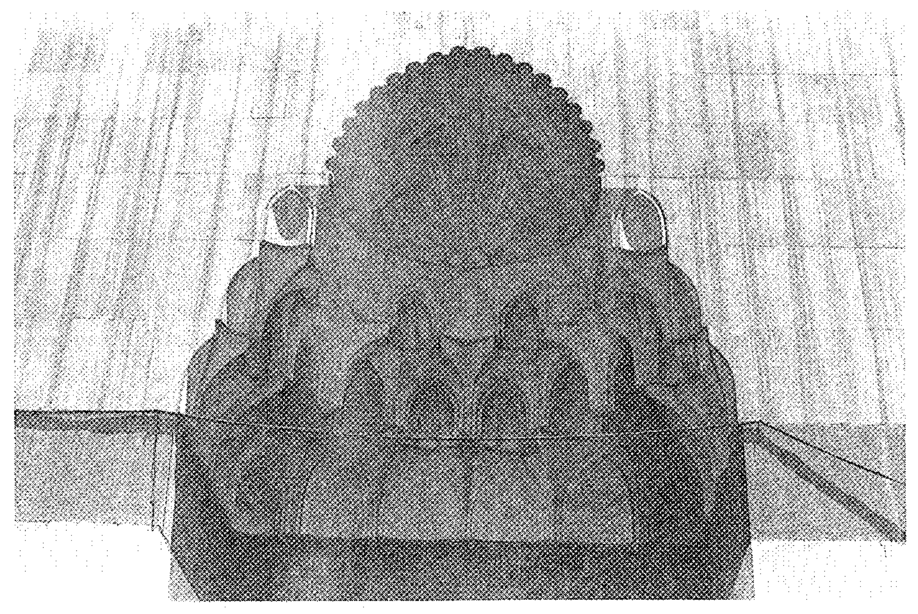


Figure 142. Damascus, Mosque of Tankiz, AD 1317.

sandstone with four courses of black stone for decoration. Its focal point is the centrally placed portal which rises higher than the rest of the wall. A simple rectangular door with a decorative oculus above it is surmounted by three courses of muqarnas with a shell motif on twisted colonnettes at its corners and topped by a festooned half-dome containing a radiating zigzag motif of carved stone (fig. 139).

The wall to the right of the portal is opened by an unadorned window, and to the left by two simple windows at the lower level and a central double window at the upper level (fig. 140), which is quite elaborately decorated, considering its small size, in a style unique in Tripoli. However, it seems to be in perfect harmony with the door. It has the same festooning as around the portal arch, and with its concave fluted shell and twisted columns looks like an elongated version of the corner shells above the door (fig. 141). The whole composition is framed by a band of a simple fish-scale motif over the gate and around the top and side walls; on the street line it runs at the height of the mastabah.

The half-dome of the Ṭuwayshiyyah gate is a known element in the Mamluk decorative vocabulary. Although this one is the only example to be found in Tripoli, the Mosque of Tankiz in Damascus built in 1317 (fig. 142), and the Madrasah Tankiziyyah in Jerusalem built in 1336,[74] both have the same radiating zigzag decoration on their gates, and the same half-dome of carved zigzag framed by a festooned arch and resting on three tiers of muqarnas. All three muqarnas have a row of small flat or concave segments at the top, a row of deeper units with stalactites in the middle, and four flat large scales and corner shells at the bottom. The details of proportions and organization of the Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tripoli gates are also identical.

Examples of zigzag half-domes abound in Cairo. They are similar to the three just discussed, but have a Cairene character all their own. The madrasah-mausoleum of Amir Sunqūr Saʿdī, for instance,[75] built in 1315, has the same kind of portal but the zigzag effect is in flat polychrome marble instead of stone relief; it is framed by a simple arch instead of the polylobed festooned arch; and its three-tiered muqarnas ends in corner pendentives rather than the flat horizontal wall below.

Another example of flat polychrome zigzag in Cairo is in the half-dome over the entrance of Yulgay al-Yūsufī (1373).[76] It is framed by a trilobed arch on the level of the third floor; but too high to be readily

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[74] See illustration in van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Sud: Jérusalem*, pl. 67, no 80.

[75] See Creswell, *MAE* 2, pl. 102b.

[76] Creswell Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, photo III.97.

visible, it forms only a part of the decoration rather than its central element.

Two other zigzag decorations from Cairo, both in flat polychrome marble, are closer in date to the Ṭuwayshiyyah but more remote in style and much less bold in effect. One is on top of the entrance bay of the Mosque of Sultan Mu'ayyad (1415–20) where the zigzag half-dome is simply one of the many decorative motifs over the entrance rather than its dominant feature;[77] the other is on the half-dome of the mihrab in the sanctuary of the madrasah-mosque of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1423–24), where it is lost in the complex decorative scheme.[78]

The Ṭuwayshiyyah's radiating zigzag entrance was probably influenced by the nearby monuments of Tankiz built a century earlier rather than by contemporary monuments in Cairo. The motif seems to have been exclusively executed in cut stone in the Fertile Crescent, and more characteristically in flat polychrome marble in Cairo.

The madrasah is entered through a short corridor opening onto a courtyard, with the prayer hall to the left and the tomb chamber to the right (see plan, fig. 143). It is not quite clear whether the maze of construction behind is actually part of the madrasah or not.

Although the façade is clear and organized, the building behind it is not, even though the space and land were available to accommodate any arrangement. The placement of the open courtyard is awkward, and the area of the prayer room with its roofing is not neatly defined by walls but is somehow haphazard. The prayer hall situated to the left of the corridor is a simple and empty double room having only a plain mihrab with cushion voussoirs (fig. 144) set between the two windows for decoration. The area is covered by two cross-vaults with the widening concave Tripoli lines meeting in a central concave rosette (fig. 145).

The funerary chamber, a square and high room covered by a ribbed dome and containing a marble sarcophagus, is entered separately from the courtyard (see fig. 146 and cross-section 147). Its squareness and axial openings in the wall give it a cruciform plan.

The dome has a complex and very effective ribbed cupola on both its interior and exterior. An alternation of wide and narrow sharp-edged ribs gives the whole a star-shaped effect.[79] The dome rests on an octagonal zone of transition with four open alternating with four blank spaces, the whole resting on four corner pendentives formed by arches on the four walls of the room.

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[77] Egypt, Ministry of Waqf, *Mosques of Egypt*, vol. 2, pl. 104.

[78] Ibid , pl. 113

[79] For a view of the inside of the dome, see Unesco publication cited above, n. 1.

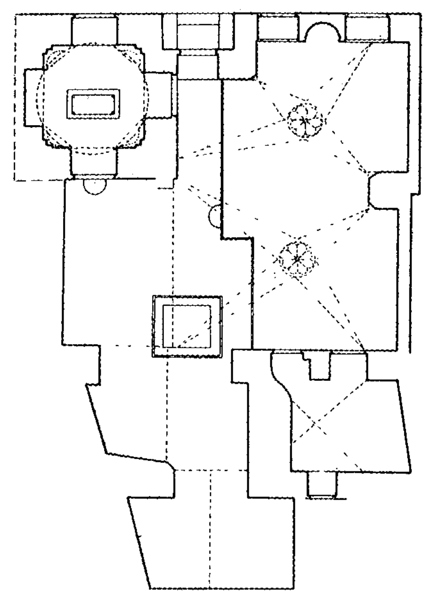


Figure 143 Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, plan

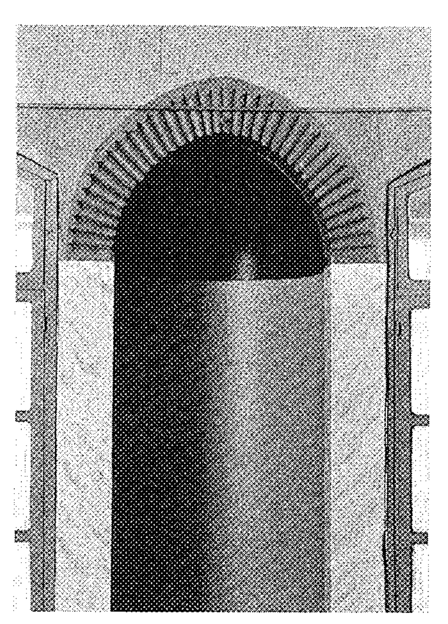


Figure 144. Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, mihrab.

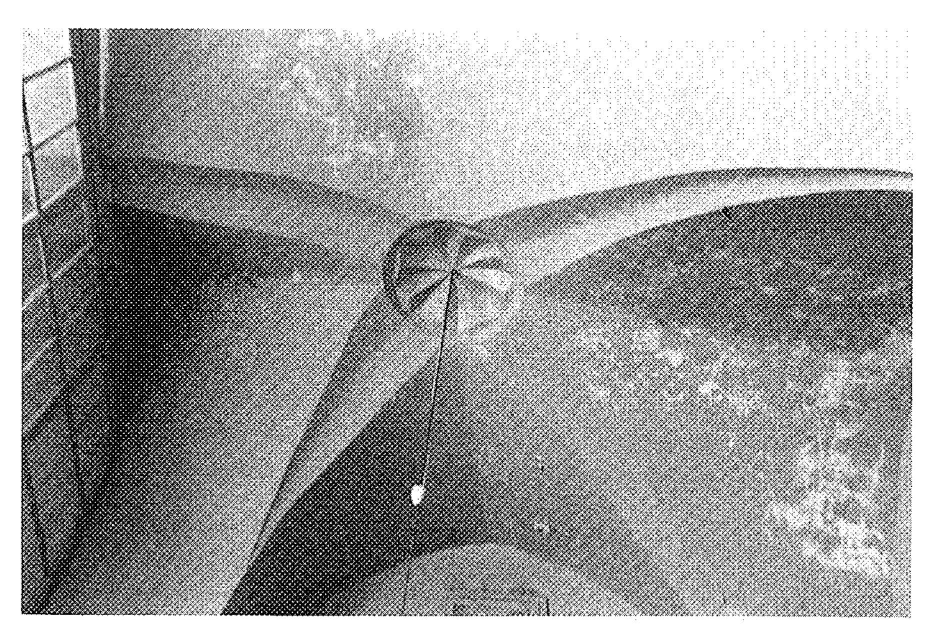


Figure 145 Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, vaulting of prayer area.

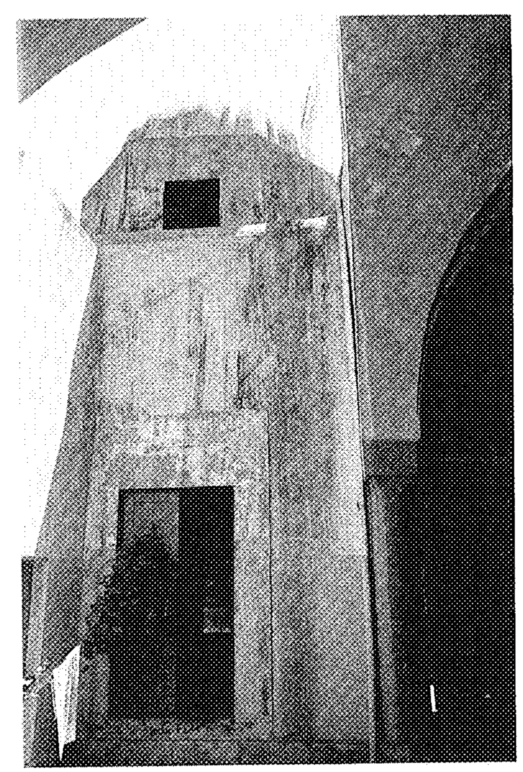


Figure 146. Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, funerary chamber.

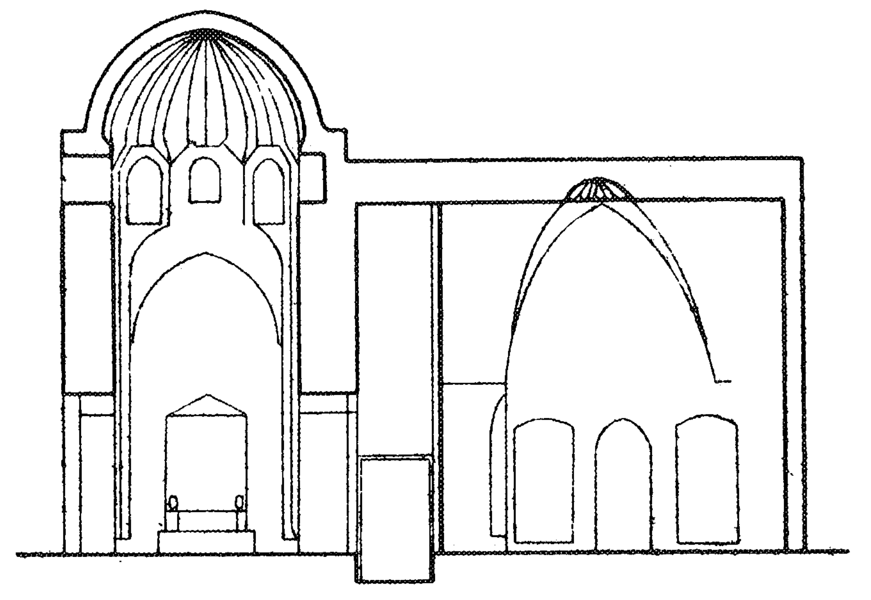


Figure 147. Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, section.

The funerary madrasah of al-Ṭuwāshī, small and simple as it is, is a typical Tripoli monument of its time, and exhibits such a variety of influences as to constitute a glossary of contemporary artistic vocabulary: a Damascus-Jerusalem-influenced gate; an Andalusian double window; a mihrab with Crusader-inspired voussoirs; a North African dome with its inside-outside ribbing; and a local, Tripoli ribbed vault with concave rosette.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 22; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 433–34; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, pp. 287–89; Unesco, no. 32, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, pp. 428–29.

MADRASAH QĀDIRIYYAH

Undated. Founder unknown.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the area of Bāb al-Hadīd, between the Jami' al-Uwaysī and the Hammam 'Izz al-Dīn. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 15.

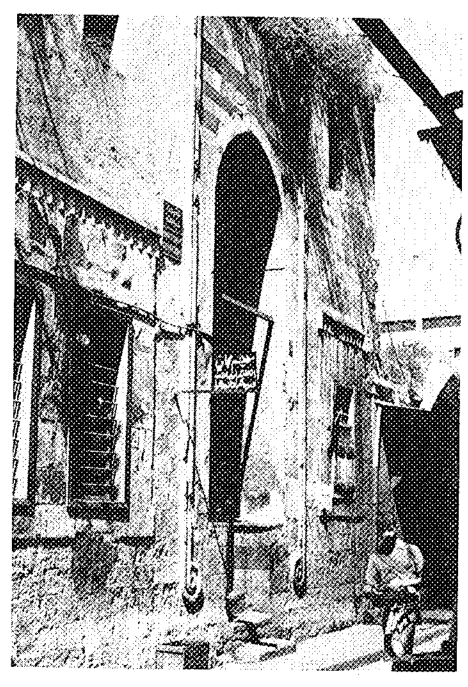


Figure 148 Madrasah Qâdiriyyah, façade

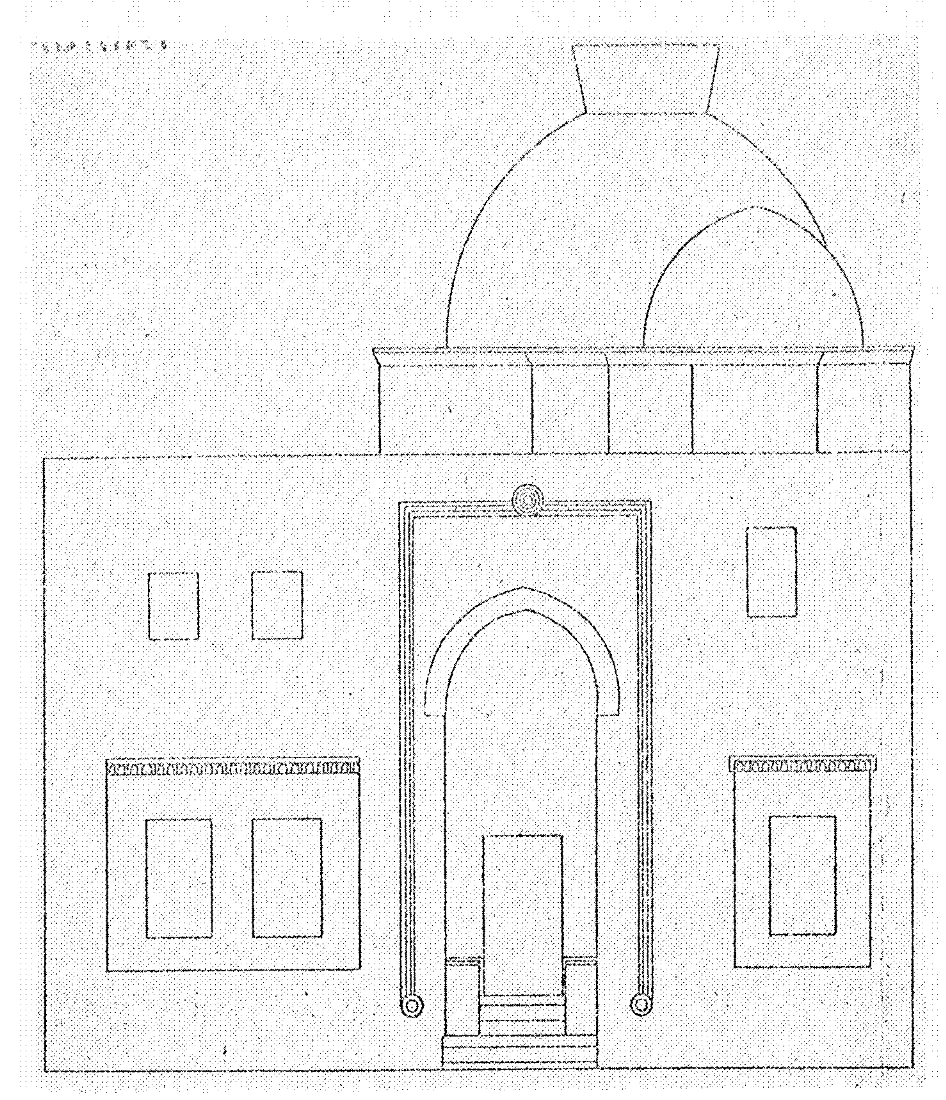


Figure 149. Madrasah Qādiriyyah, elevation of façade.

History and Inscriptions

The Qâdiriyyah carries no inscriptions, and its founding date has not otherwise been determined. Its founder is equally obscure, for although the building is clearly a funerary madrasah with a tomb chamber and a tomb, the name of its benefactor is nowhere to be found. Vague as its history may be, the Qâdiriyyah is a handsome, if simple, medium-size madrasah which is still in fair condition and is still playing a social role.



Figure 150. Madrasah Qādiriyyah, lower section of portal.

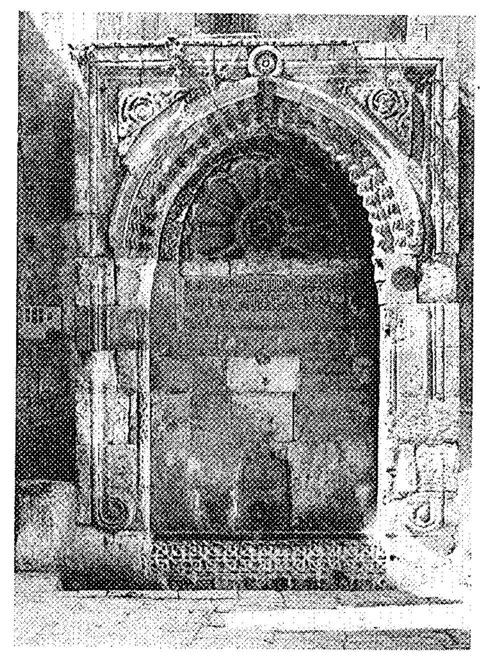


Figure 151. Jerusalem, Sabil of Qaytbāy, AD 1455.

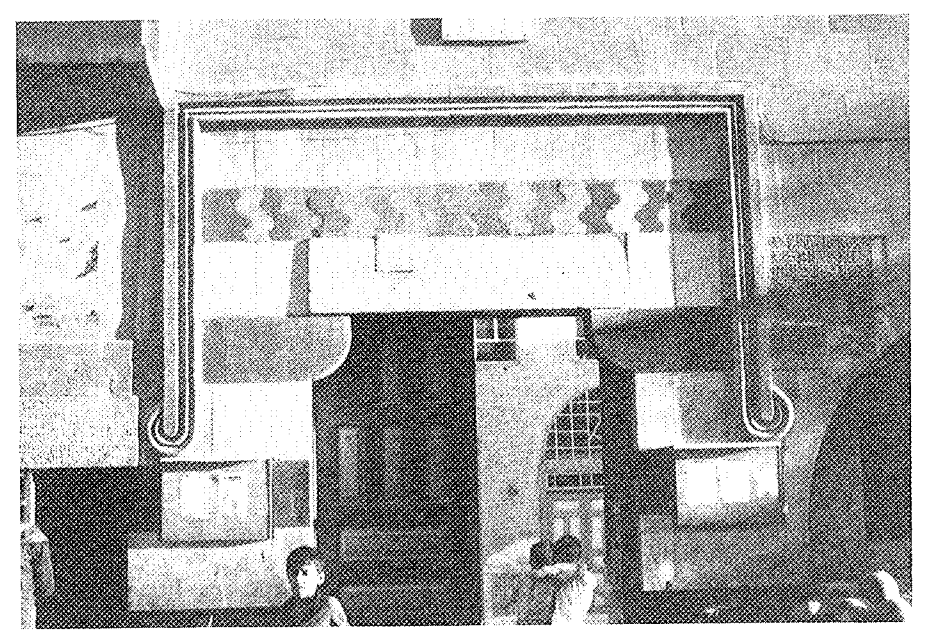


Figure 152. Damascus, Mosque of al-Qaṣṣāb, A.D 1408.

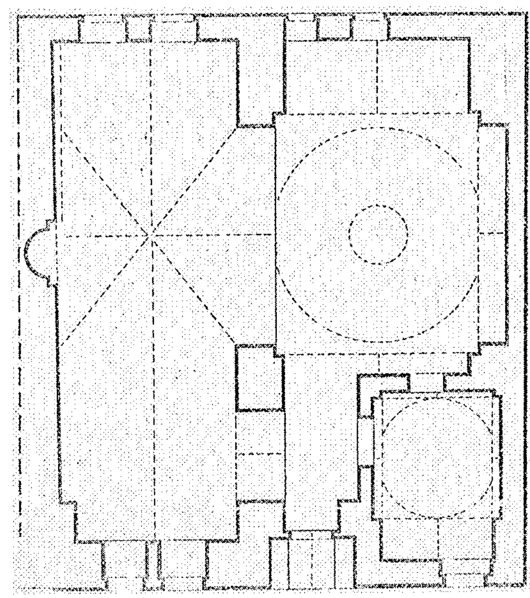


Figure 153 Madrasah Qādiriyyah, plan.

The name "al-Qādiriyyah" indicates the association of the madrasah with the Sufi order named after the Persian Sufi ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1077–1166).[80] It is most likely, therefore, that this madrasah served for some time as a meeting place for that order and was eventually named after it.

While the Qādiriyyah order is still active and has several established meeting places in present-day Tripoli,[81] the madrasah is no longer one of them; it has since acquired a different function. Serving as a public kitchen for the poor, it has a sign outside announcing it as a "Restaurant, Free of Charge."

Description

The Qādiriyyah has an organized façade along its entire eastern side (fig. 148; elevation, fig. 149); its elements are simple and functional: a doorway, three windows, and three upper openings for ventilation. The domes seen on the elevation are not visible from street level.

The windows, a pair and a single, are set on a slightly raised frame of polished stone and topped by a row of flattened-out muqarnas of Tripoli fish-scale motif. The gate is rectangular and rises the entire height of the building (fig. 148). A deep archway with stone mastabahs opens on a back wall containing a high and simple oculus and a rectangular door set three steps above street level. Between the oculus and the door are three plaques, one circular flanked by the other two square ones, which could have had some decoration or even inscriptions, but are now covered by a thick build-up of whitewash. The gate around this opening has alternate courses of black and white stone, now mostly painted over, and the whole is framed by a band of stone molding ending in a spiral on either side of the mastabahs (fig. 150).

This motif of a framing band ending in a spiral, although by no means common, is found on a few Mamluk monuments of the Fertile Crescent, such as the two fountains of Sulaymān and Qaytbāy (1455) in Jerusalem (fig. 151) and the façade of the Qaṣṣāb mosque (1408) in Damascus (fig. 152). In Tripoli it adorns the gateway of a defense tower in the harbor.

The interest of this motif lies in its pre-Islamic Syrian origin, on the whole, a time and style that had very little impact on Islamic architecture. The Muslims preferred to go back to Greek and Roman times for their inspiration rather than borrow from their early Christian predecessors.

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[80] See "Qādiriyyah" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed

[81] For a list of the Qādiriyyah Sufi meeting places and their location in present-day Tripoli, see Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 319.

In its original form, a sculptured band framing an architectural element such as a small door or window and turning outward in a spiral, this motif was fairly common in Christian Syria of the sixth century. In central Syria it can be seen on religious architecture, such as the façade of the basilica at Qalb-Lawzeh[82] and the chapel of Kokanaya[83] as well as on private dwellings such as the Maison d'Airamis, which the inscription tells us was built August 13, 510.[84] In northern Syria, it is seen framing round upper-floor windows and rectangular doorways, as on the elevation of the west façade of the Church of Bakirha dated 501, and the Church of Khirbit Tezin dated 585.[85]

While the sixth-century Christian origin of the motif appears to be indisputable, its Mamluk adaptation both in Tripoli and in Jerusalem shows two divergences from the original: the area framed is a tall, vertical span rather than a short, round or square horizontal opening, and in all instances the spiral turns inward rather than outward to include the area framed. The Damascene adaptation is geographically closer to the model and therefore a more exact translation of the motif: it turns outward, and the frame is square rather than oblong even when the door it surrounds is rectangular. The sixth-century Christian motif was adapted by the Mamluks for the framing or enclosing of architectural elements such as doorways and fountains.

A short corridor leads to a long prayer area, a square domed room, and a tomb chamber, the three main parts of the madrasah (plan, fig. 153). The prayer area, a long, rectangular room, runs the width of the building. Its eastern and western walls are both opened by two deeply set windows; its southern side includes the simple mihrab, on the same axis as the square room. The floor is covered by a simple geometric pattern of black, white, and red marble, and the entire hall is covered by a simple cross-vault over the mihrab area.

The square room, a step higher than the prayer hall and covered by a well-composed dome (fig. 154), was probably the madrasah's main hall, possibly the room used for teaching and for gatherings other than prayer. Its western and northern sides extend behind arches beyond the square proper in what looks like shrunken atrophied iwans. The dome is a simple cupola with an octagonal opening resting on an octagonal drum of four opened arches and four corner squinches.

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[82] C.J.M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale* (Paris, 1865–77), pl. 125.

[83] Ibid , pl. 120.

[84] Ibid , pl. 110.

[85] H.C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (Princeton, 1929), pp. 133, 139; illustration no. 146, p. 140.

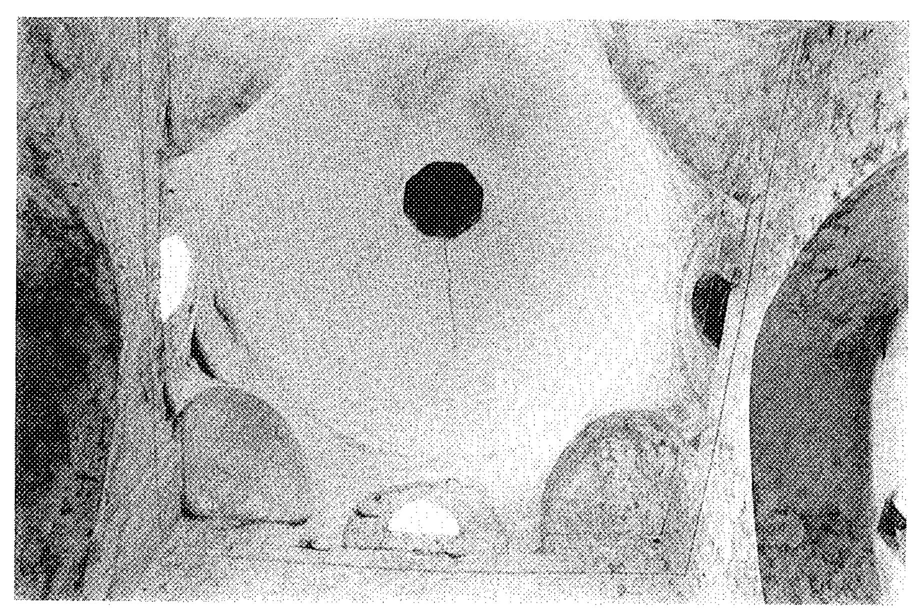


Figure 154. Madrasah Qâdiriyyah, central dome, interior.

The tomb chamber, entered either from the corridor or from the square room, is a small domed room containing a marble tomb. It has no inscription, however, and therefore does not disclose the identity of the person buried there.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 20; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa Athār*, p. 319.



Chapter Four

Khans and Hammams

Tripoli built five khans to serve the new and growing city, most of them within the first fifty years of its Mamluk foundation. The khans al-Manzil, al-Khayyāṭīn, and al-Miṣriyyīn were all built before 1356 (Appendix A), and there is good reason to believe that the Suq al-Ḥarāj, with its classical remains, was also an early construction. The Khan al-ʿAskar, used as a military garrison, was probably built later, but since it was not conceived as a commercial building, as the four earlier khans were, it is possible to say that within a half-century the city had acquired all the architecture of trade it needed. The four commercial khans sufficed until the Ottomans assumed power two centuries later.

All five khans were built in the northern part of the city (Appendix B), the commercial area of Tripoli most easily accessible from the roads to Syria. The earliest of them, the Khan al-Manzil, was built on the right bank of the Qadisha River near the Madrasah Zurayqiyyah and the hammam of Usindamur; the others are on the left bank. Only two of their sponsors are known, both of them high-ranking officials. The Khan al-Manzil was endowed by Amir Usindamur Kurjī, when he was governor of Tripoli, and the Khan al-Khayyāṭīn by Amir Badr al-Dīn, about whom nothing is known. The Khan al-Miṣriyyīn was probably built by Egyptian merchants to conduct their Tripoli trade, and the Khan al-ʿAskar by the central authorities to quarter their troops.

In contrast with the mosques and madrasahs in Tripoli, which rarely follow typical plans, the khans all used the traditional khan plans found in Syria and Anatolia of a central courtyard with a floor of vaulting below and a floor of rooms set behind a gallery above. Since the khans served the active commerce of the city, they are all within the city limits, and since there were no other markets — *qayṣariyyahs* or *wikalahs* — they must have housed all the trading activities of the town.

Of the many known hammams, including the twelve hammams listed by al-Nābulsī in 1700,[1] only five, three Mamluk and two Ottoman, have survived. The first buildings erected by the Mamluks after the founding of the Great Mosque were two hammams (Hammam ʿIzz al-

[1] ʿAbd-al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī, *Al-Tuhfah al-Nābulsiyyah fi al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulsiyyah*, ed. H. Busse (Beiruter Text und Studien 4) (Beirut, 1971), p. 73

Dīn [1294–98] and Hammam al-Ḥājib [1301], which was completely destroyed in the flood of 1955, and therefore not included here),[2] to be followed shortly by a third (Hammam al-Nūrī [1333]) (see Appendix A). By 1301, five years after the reconstruction of the city had begun, Tripoli had a single mosque, a single madrasah, and two hammams, reflecting the concern of the early inhabitants for functional secular buildings and for hygiene.

The location of the three baths (see Appendix B) was carefully considered. To suit the needs of the population, one was placed next to the Great Mosque to serve the neighborhood around it, one in the center of the commercial district next to two khans to serve that densely populated area, and one on the other side of the river to serve the small right-bank settlement. This rational allocation of baths was continued by the Ottomans, who built their Hammam al-Jadīd in the area of the developing Ottoman complex of the Muʿallaq mosque (see no. 30, Appendix B).

A bath was both a complex structure and an expensive enterprise, so it is not surprising to find that the first two baths, ʿIzz al-Dīn and al-Ḥājib, were both built by governors of Tripoli (Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak and Amir Usindamur Kurjī). The Hammam al-Nūrī was built by the mysterious Nūr al-Dīn, who also built the madrasah across the street and after whom the whole area of Suwayqat al-Nūrī is named.

Like the khans, the hammams of Tripoli follow the traditional layouts of the time. The two for which we have floor plans and elevations show the common elements of a Syrian Muslim bath organized in the traditional linear arrangement of dressing room, cold room, warm room, and hot room.

KHAN AL-MANZIL

Built in A.D 1309 by Amir Usindamur Kurjī.

Location

Once on the right bank of the Qadisha River, most of the building was totally destroyed by the flood of 1955; the façade alone was saved and reassembled on the grounds of the Citadel. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 23.

[2] Al-Nuwayrī described it as "a splendid bath, which merchants from all countries agreed nowhere had its equal" (see Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum,* pt 2, *Syrie du Nord* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 25 [Cairo, 1909], p 90, n 4; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah called it one of the two most beautiful baths in Tripoli (see *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed and tr. C. Defrémey and B. R Sanguinetti, 4 vols (Paris, 1853–58), 1:139–40.

History and Inscriptions

Once one of the most beautiful khans of Tripoli and the only one with a decorated façade on the street (fig. 155), the Khan al-Manzil was the first to be built during the Mamluk reconstruction of the city. It was also one of the few buildings (the Madrasah Zurayqiyyah was another) built on the right bank of the river, the area inundated by the flood of 1955. According to tradition, but with no texts or inscriptions to support it, it was built about 1309 by Amir Usindamur Kurjī, then governor of Tripoli.[3]

The khan no longer exists. But when its remnants were cleared after the flood, enough of its façade was saved to reconstruct it. The Department of Antiquities transported the remains to the Citadel, where it has been reassembled flat on the ground according to its original arrangement.

This sandstone façade is opened by a central gate and four symmetrical windows, which are decorative as well as functional. The gate (figs. 155 and 156) dominates the façade. Its arch is framed by a deep, three-dimensional dogtooth motif of cut stone, similar to that on the Madrasah Qarṭâwiyyah.

The two windows on either side of the gate (figs. 155 and 157) are deeply set and unusually decorated around their arch with an inward-pointing fleur-de-lys motif cut in thick stone and framed by a flattened zigzag. The effect is of a complex three-dimensional festoon. The other pair of windows is also deeply set, but is not decorated. The top of the façade is bordered by a row of the fish-scale motif so common in Tripoli.

Apart from the decorative architectural elements, other decorations consist of carved plaques: a circular one on the tympanum and a decorated lintel. The circular plaque has a repeat of heart shapes, each heart containing a stylized leaf and arranged in a circle surrounded by several stones that form a circular frame and decorated by three rows of small carved stars. The lintel is an oblong stone slab decorated by three separate motifs (fig. 156) and is identical with another slab of stone (fig. 158) from the Khan al-Manzil, whose actual origins are unknown. The two slabs have a central square motif flanked by two hexagonal units containing a geometric whirling motif like the one seen above the door on the entrance to the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī. The square motif in the

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[3] Bruce Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1961), pp. 119–20; al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām fi al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967), p. 453; and Paul Collart et al., *La ville de Tripoli et son développement historique* (Paris: Unesco, 1954) (hereafter Unesco), no. 7, p. 12, all attribute the building of the khan to Usindamur Kurjī but give no source for their information.

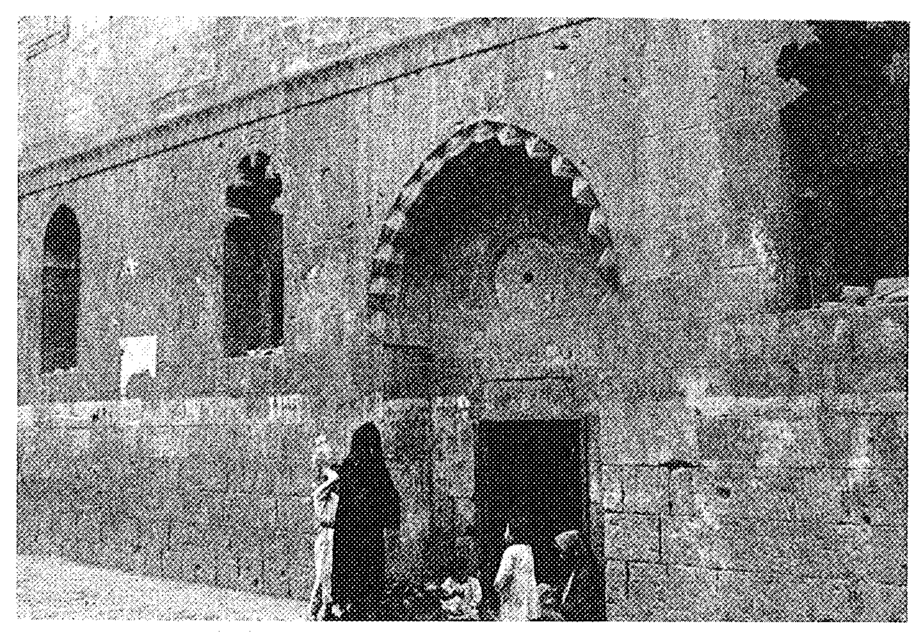


Figure 155. Khan al-Manzil, in situ before 1955



Figure 156. Khan al-Manzil, reassembled gate.



Figure 157. Khan al-Manzil, reassembled window.

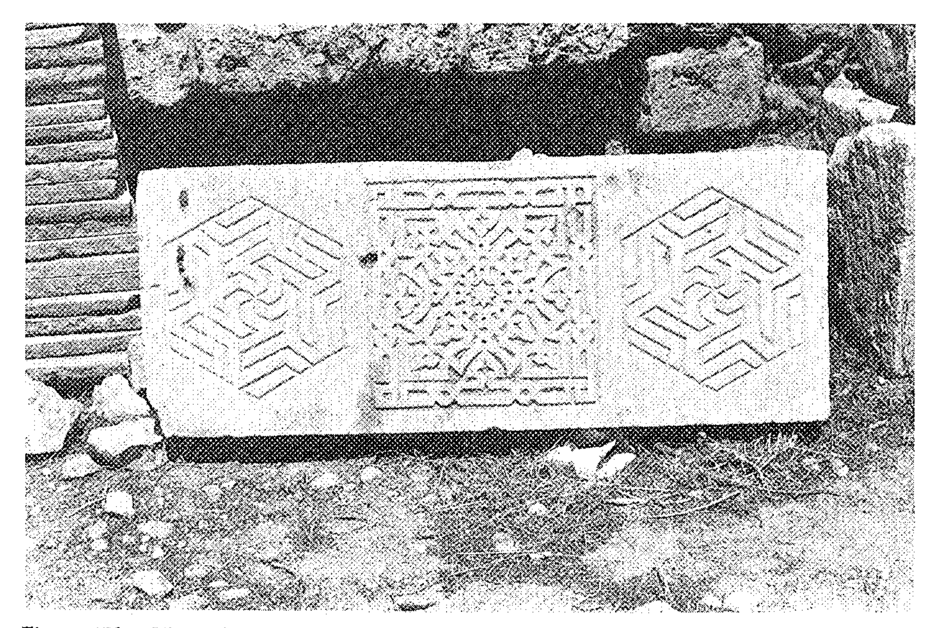


Figure 158. Khan al-Manzil, carved stone.

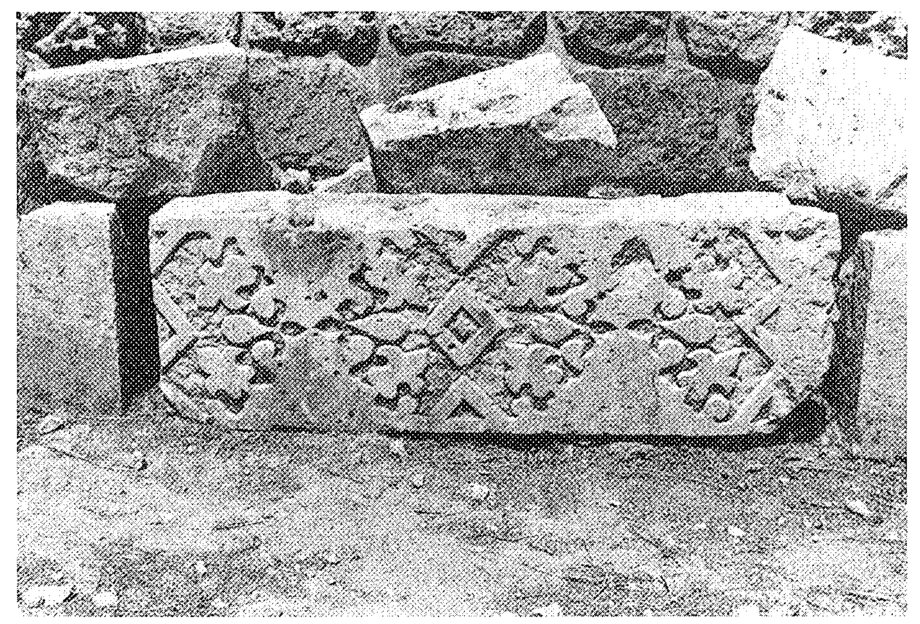


Figure 159 Khan al-Manzil, carved stone.

middle has an intricate interlace of inward and outward pointing vegetal and fleur-de-lys motifs forming a diamond shape within a square framed by a band of interlace.

Finally, another fragment, whose original position can no longer be determined (fig. 159), provides yet another instance of carved stone with a motif of lozenges and fleurs-de-lys in low relief.

The Khan al-Manzil is the only khan in Tripoli to have a decorated façade. It is a sober scheme of stone decoration in high and low relief in which the fleur-de-lys in its various shapes is a favorite pattern.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 119–21, photo p. 120; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 453–54; Unesco, no. 7, p. 12 and p. 16.

KHAN AL-MIṢRIYYĪN

Built in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the commercial center of the city on the Suq al-Bazirkān; it faces the Khan al-Khayyātīn across the street. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 14.

History and Inscriptions

As the name Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, "Khan of the Egyptians," indicates, the khan was built for and possibly by Egyptian merchants. Economic ties between the newly founded city of Tripoli and the Mamluk capital of Cairo were close, and trade was active; the khan was built in the center of the city to accommodate merchandise and merchants alike. No inscription or text gives us a precise date for its construction, but it is generally thought to have been erected about 1309–56.[4]

Description

A rather small khan by medieval Muslim standards,[5] the Khan al-Miṣriyyīn otherwise displays all the characteristics of a Muslim khan. It

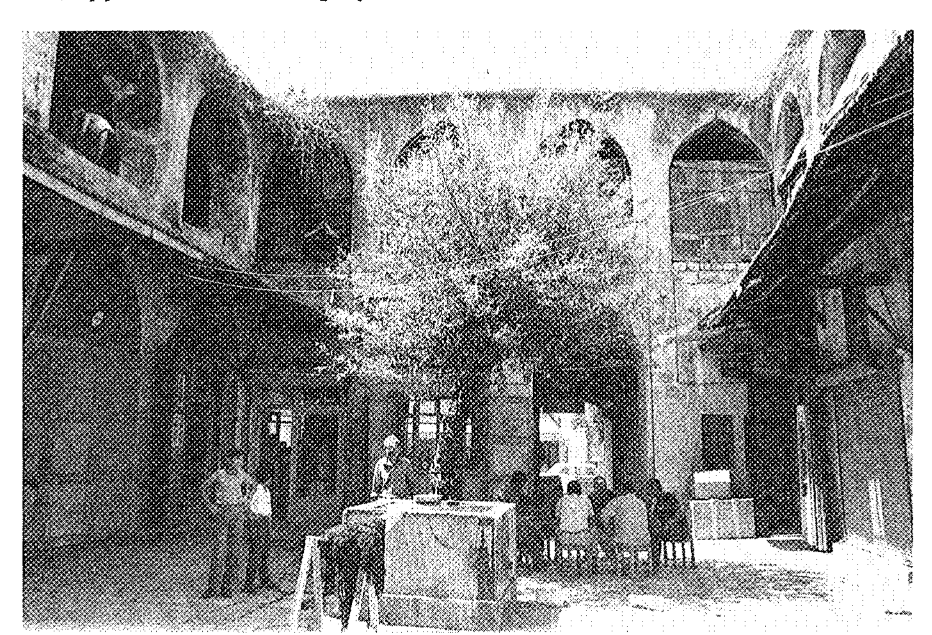


Figure 160. Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, courtyard.

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[4] Unesco, p 12, no. 17; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām,* p 454

[5] At least compared with the rural caravanserais of Anatolia (see Kurt Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhundert,* 2 vols [Berlin, 1961], illustrated in vol 2), and Syria (see Jean Sauvaget, "Caravanserais syriens du moyen âge," *Ars Islamica* 6 [1939]: 48–55); and even to the city khans of Aleppo, for example.

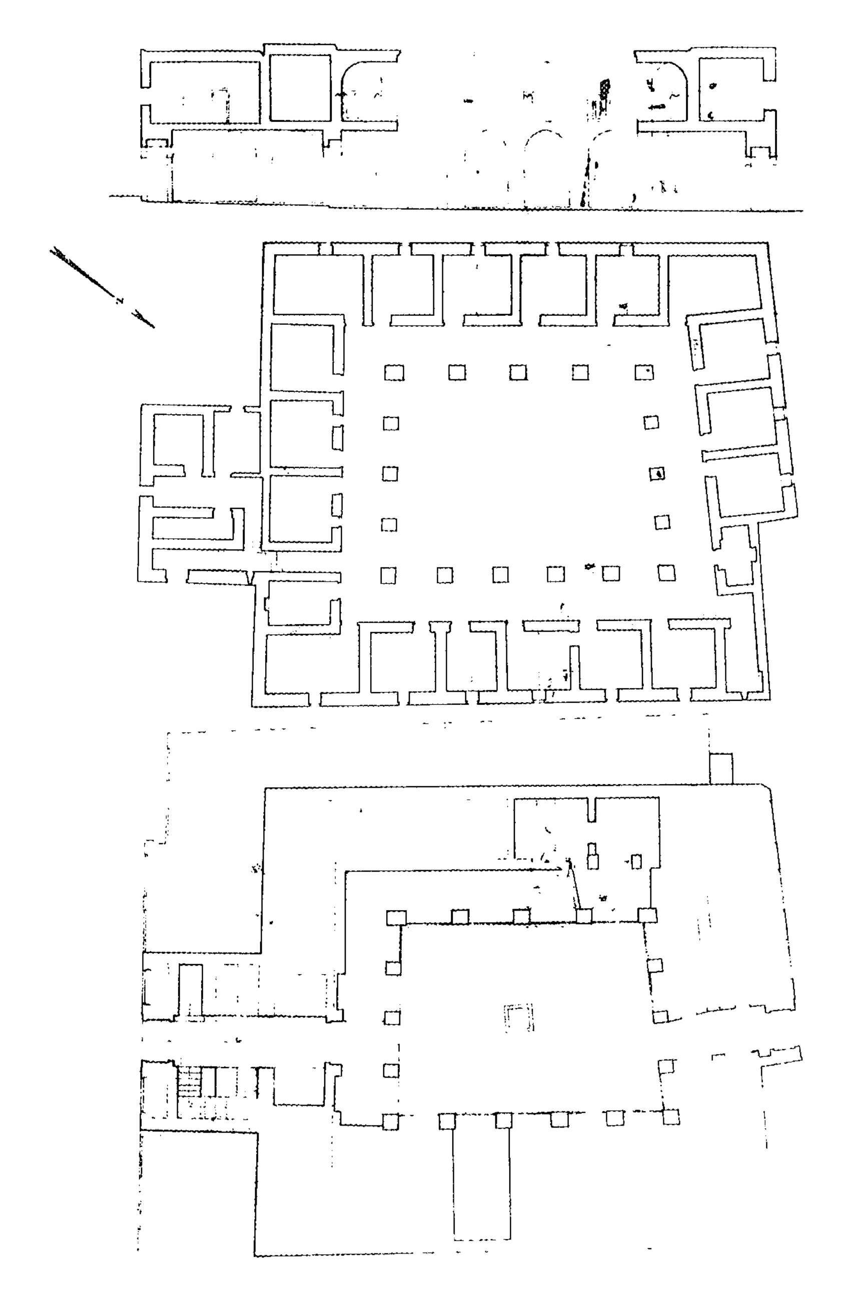


Figure 161. Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, plan

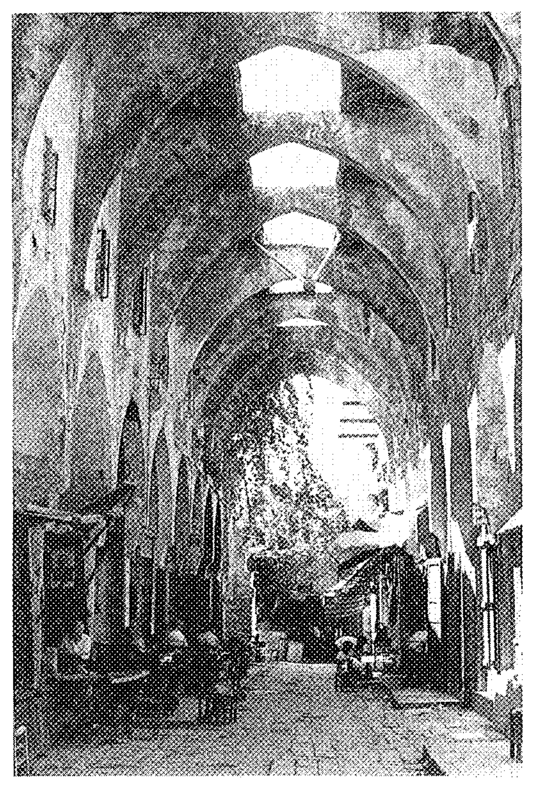


Figure 162 Khan al-Khayyāṭīn, viewed from the south.

is a sturdy, functional, undecorated square structure of approximately 26 by 28 meters, built on two floors around a square courtyard of about 10 by 14 meters (see figs. 160 and 161). It is entered by two symmetrically arranged gates that connect it to the busy city outside. The southeastern gate projects beyond the square building and provides the only staircase leading to the upper floor.

The central courtyard is paved, and has a simple square fountain in its center. It is surrounded by the ground-floor shops and storage areas, most of which are still in use today.

The upper floor has an arcaded gallery around the courtyard, behind which cubical units of about 3 by 3.5 meters each, arranged along the walls, provide a series of simple plain rooms to lodge travelers. Most of them are opened by a window to the outside and a door to the gallery. These rooms surround the building and are covered by long barrel vaults (each covering the square unit and the portion of the gallery in front of it) which look like a repeat of large ribs when seen from the top.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 90–92, photo p. 91; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 454–55; Unesco, no. 17, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 437.

KHAN AL-KHAYYĀṬĪN

Built in the fourteenth century, possibly by Amir Badr al-Dīn.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River; adjoining the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn and across the street from the Khan al-Miṣriyyīn. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 12.

History and Inscriptions

The Khan al-Khayyāṭīn is thought to have been built by Amir Badr al-Dīn (d. 1341),[6] but it has no inscriptions, and all one can say is that it was

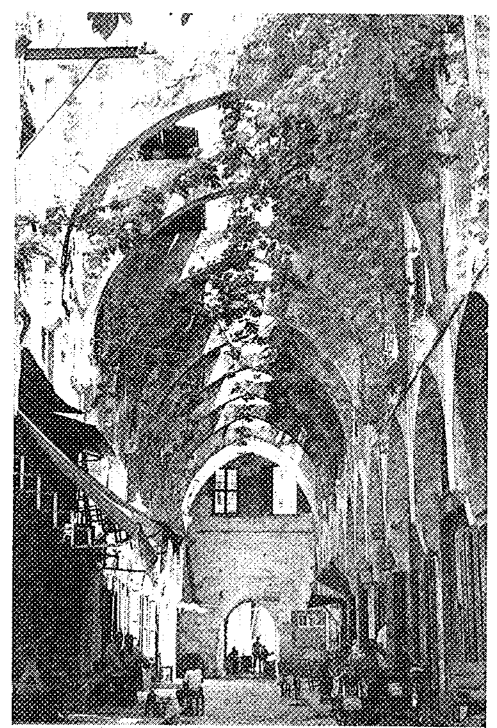


Figure 163 Khan al-Khayyāṭīn, viewed from the north

[6] Unesco, p. 12; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 454; Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 87, but with no references

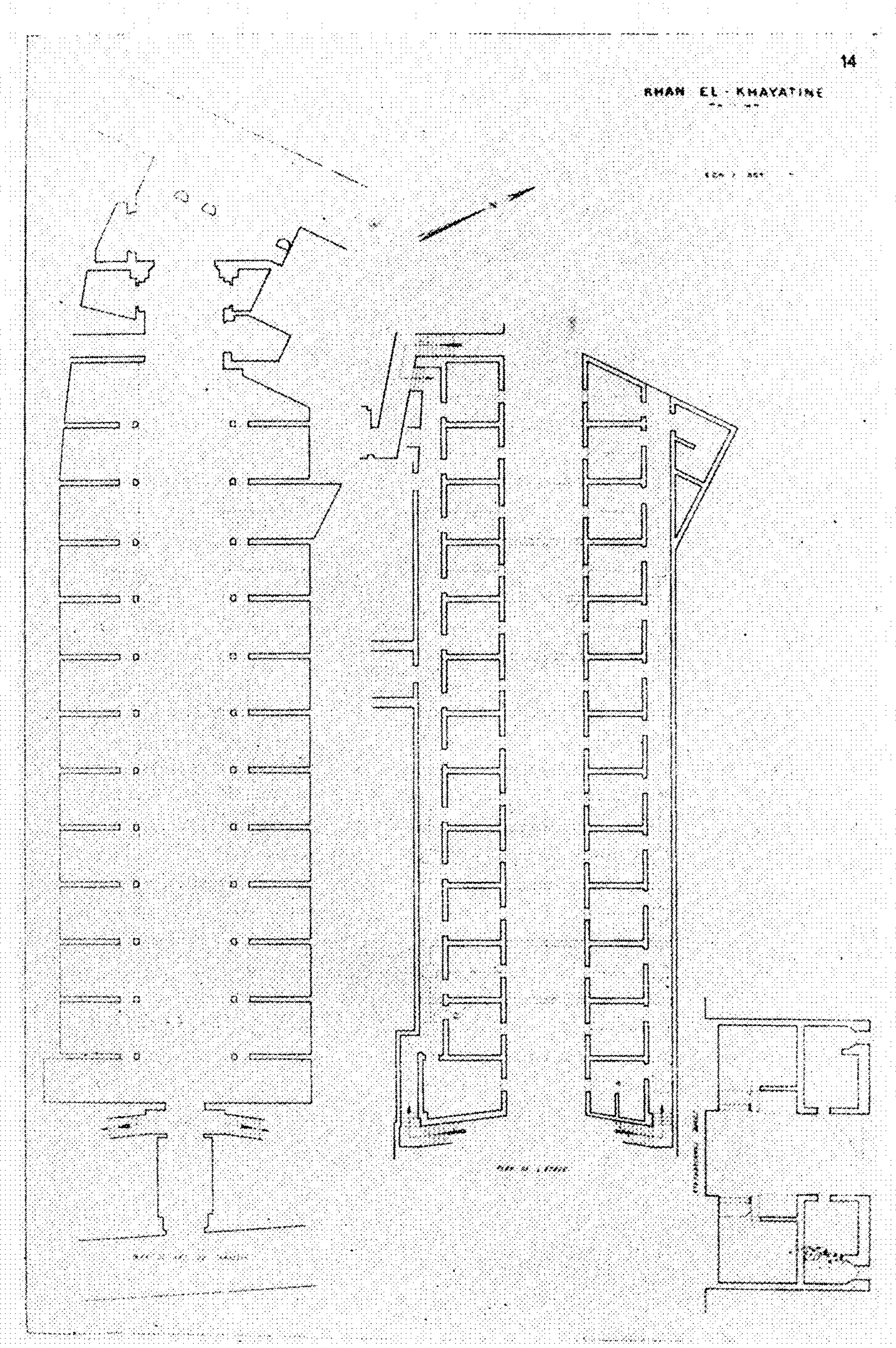


Figure 164 Khan al-Khayyāṭīn, plan.

probably built in the fourteenth century; it forms an integral part of the central city, which would have been a difficult feat at a later date when the area had become crowded. As the name Khan al-Khayyāṭīn implies, the khan housed and still houses tailors and other related trades; needles, thread, sewing machines, and similar paraphernalia crowd the shops and the street (figs. 162 and 163).

Description

The khan is a long rectangular building of about 40 by 80 meters with a covered central courtyard (fig. 164) and shops on either side. Although regarded as a khan and having some of its characteristics, it looks much more like a closed street than it does a typical khan with its traditional courtyard and square rectangular structure. Its ground floor has two rows of twelve shops set in deep arches (figs. 162 and 163) on either side of the central paved alley or court. The shops are of identical shape and size (4.5 by 3 meters) with no openings except for the door on the court (fig. 164).

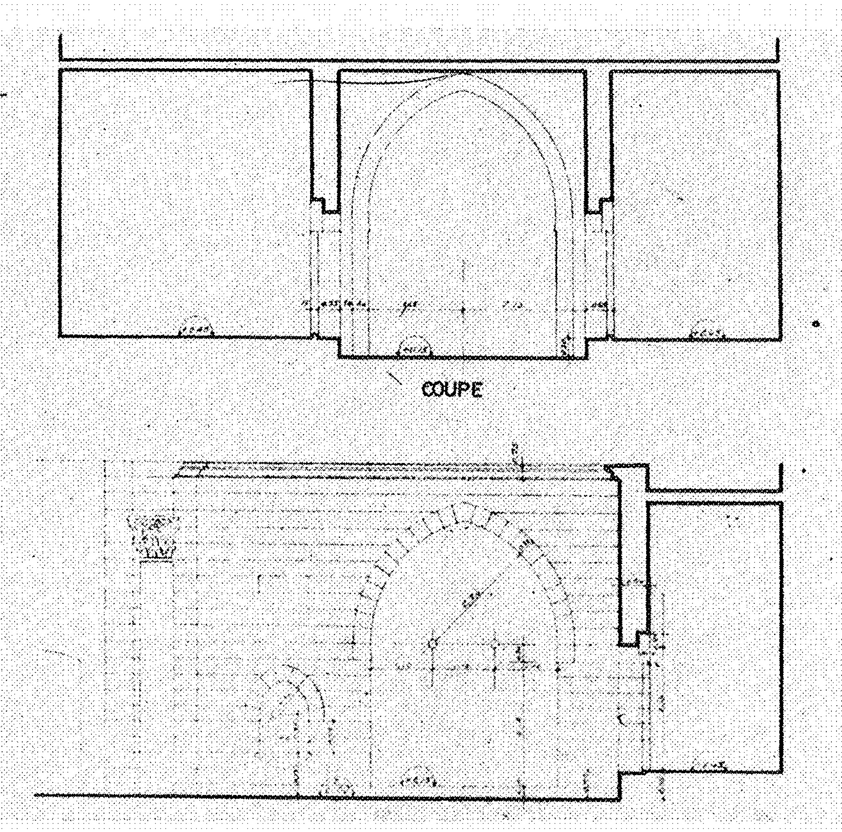


Figure 165. Khan al-Khayyāṭīn, entrance facing south, section and elevation.

The upper floor is reached by three sets of stairs, two at the southern and one at the northern end of the khan; the two areas are unconnected. Set above the shops and identical in dimension, both sections of the upper floor have the same arrangement: a corridor at the back opens by twelve doors into twelve square rooms set immediately over the twelve shops below. These rooms open with a window each onto the court or street of the khan (figs. 164 and 162). In a cross-section we would see a shop below topped by a small room and a corridor section. The upper floor is very much like the traditional khan upper floor with rooms around a gallery, except that here the corridor has replaced the gallery and instead of looking onto the courtyard, it runs along the outside of the building.

Although the two upper levels are not connected, they are united at the second-floor level by ten transverse arches set between the windows, which support a flat roof and give the effect of a covered hall.[7] This repeat of arches gives a feeling of unity and intimacy to the khan and also provides plenty of air and sunshine, making it a building much admired and photographed by visitors.

On the side facing the Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, the Khan al-Khayyāṭīn has a complex entrance unit (fig. 165) which opens onto the street. Its simple façade has a pointed arch which incorporates an antique column with a classical Corinthian capital.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 87–89, photo p. 88; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 454, photo 37; Unesco, no. 16, p. 16; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 437.

KHAN AL-ʿASKAR

Built in the fourteenth century by the Mamluk authorities.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, to the northwest of the city; close to the Jamiʿ al-Tawbah. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 33.

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[7] This long hall with its repeating transverse arches recalls the transverse aisles in North African mosques, as, for example, in the Great Mosque in Algiers (1096) and the Mosque of Kutubiyyah in Marrakesh (twelfth century), illustrated respectively in Georges Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'occident* (Paris, 1954), pp 193 and 229. An even closer parallel is in Fez, Fernand Benoît, *Afrique méditerranéenne* (Paris, 1931), illustration 336, pl. 130

History and Inscriptions

The Khan al-ʿAskar, or Soldiers' Khan, has no founding inscription, and was probably built to serve as a garrison for the new city. This would explain the mammoth scale of its two massive units, too large for any ordinary trading or commercial purpose. In the more recent past, the Khan al-ʿAskar certainly performed that very function for the Ottomans and French.

Description

The Khan al-ʿAskar consists of two rectangular units, which taken together are 100 meters long. They are united by a wide vaulted corridor. The larger unit is about 50 by 25 meters, the smaller unit 40 by 25 meters, and the connecting corridor 10 by 25 meters which, considering the size of the city, is an extraordinarily large scale. The plan (figs. 166 and 167) shows two adjoining buildings, which follow the same principle of a central courtyard surrounded by rooms below and rooms above set behind a gallery (fig. 168). It is as if the architects, needing a very large number of rooms and storage spaces, simply duplicated the plan of a typical khan, rather than planning a single building of a scale sufficient for their needs. The results were two adjoining khans to serve as one. Rural caravanserais with two courtyards are known in Anatolia,[8] but not

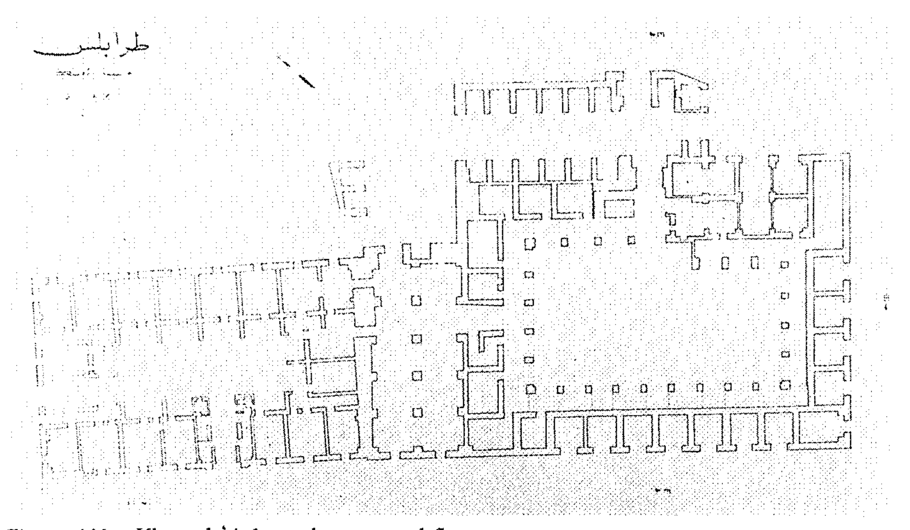


Figure 166. Khan al-ʿAskar, plan, ground floor.

[8] See Erdman, *Anatolische Karavansaray*, vol 2, where numerous plans illustrate the point clearly.

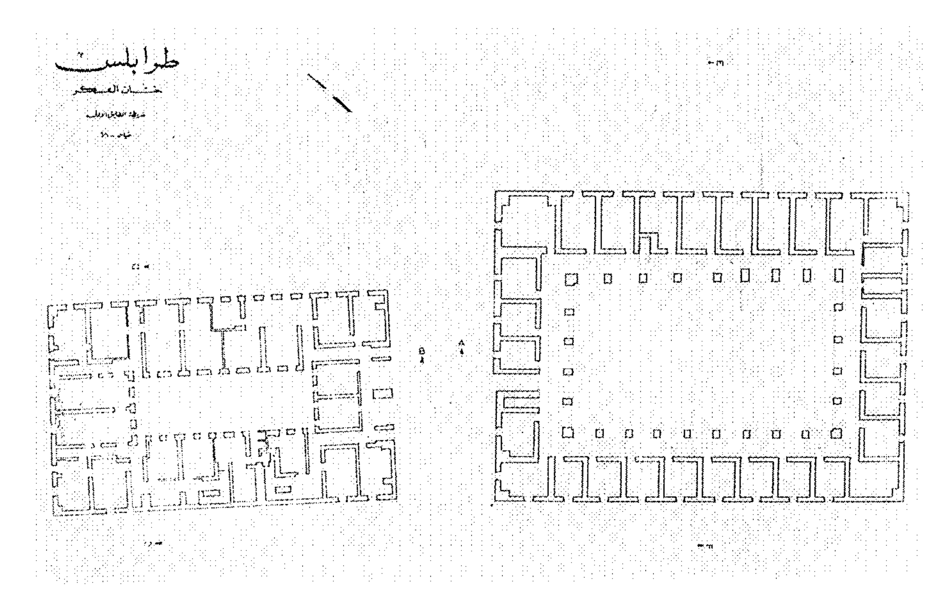


Figure 167. Khan al-ʿAskar, plan, upper floor

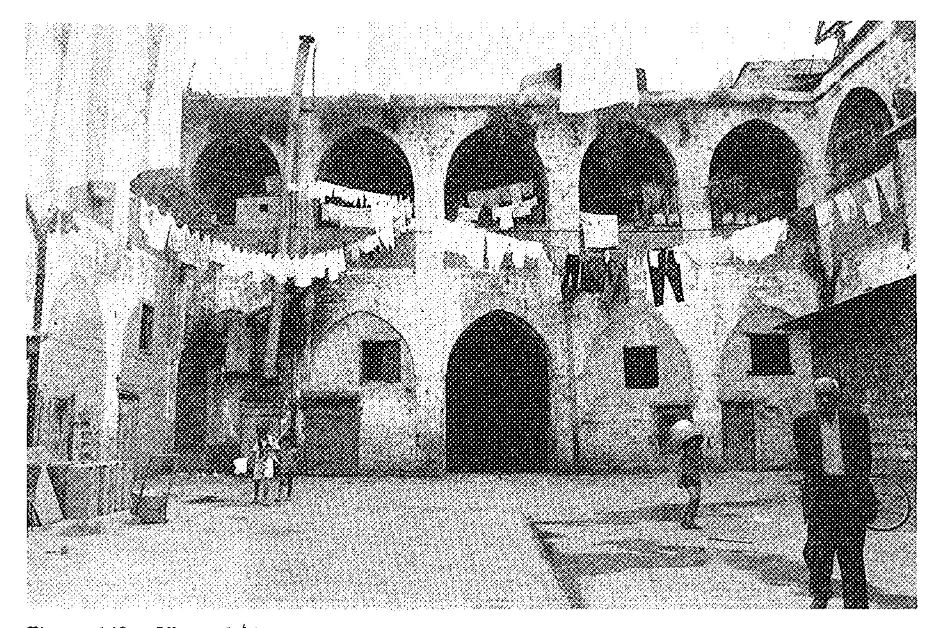


Figure 168. Khan al-ʿAskar, courtyard



Figure 169. Khan al-ʿAskar, alcove in entrance.

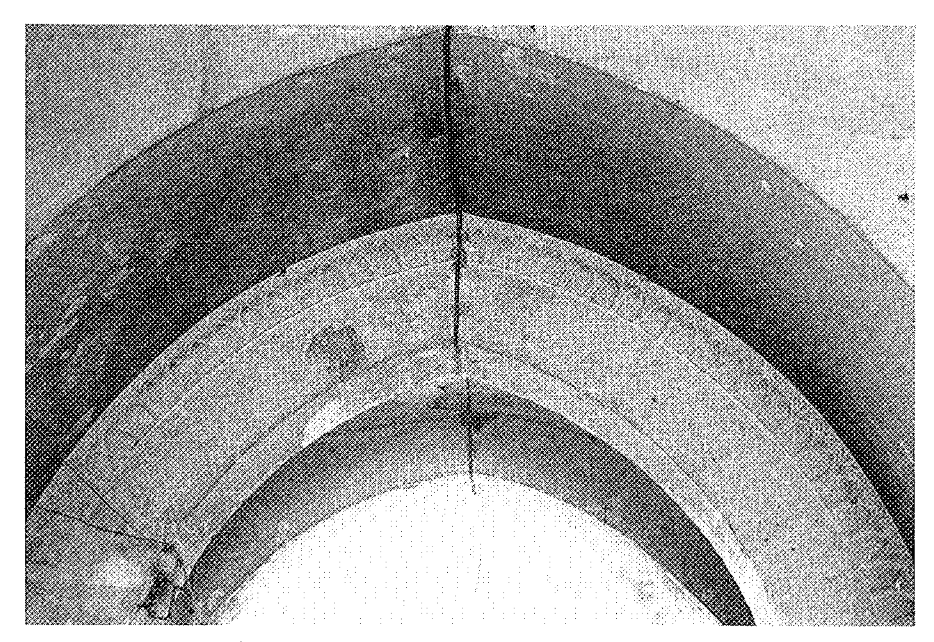


Figure 170. Khan al-ʿAskar, arch, interior of connecting corridor.

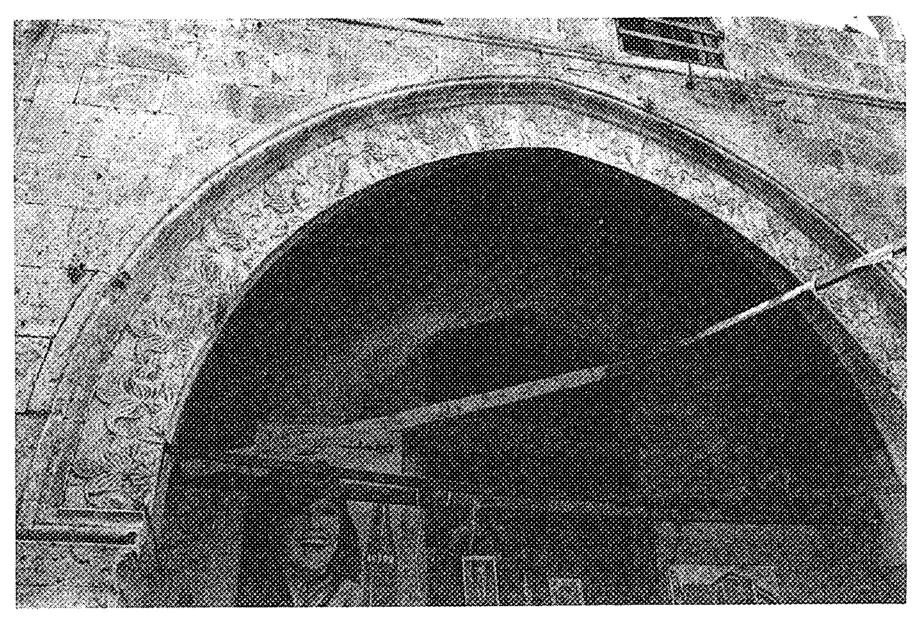


Figure 171 Khan al-ʿAskar, arch, exterior of entrance to smaller unit.

urban khans, and in the caravanserais the two courtyards served two different functions. Here we find a doubling up simply to provide the necessary space for a single function.

The plans for both the ground (fig. 166) and upper floor (fig. 167) show the larger unit to be a typical simple khan with a line of rooms around the court and around the gallery; the smaller unit has large double rooms and a more complicated use of space. Assuming that administrators, officers, and soldiers were all stationed there, the smaller building would have housed the former and the larger building the latter.

Although military and therefore functional in general aspect, the Khan al-ʿAskar nonetheless has three decorative elements on its ground floor. An alcove to the right of the entrance to the larger unit is decorated with two engaged braided colonnettes (fig. 169). Braided columns flanking a central element was a popular scheme for the decoration of khans in Aleppo, as, for example, on the façades of Khan Uzdamur,[9] Khan al-Ṣābūn, and Khan al-Wazīr.[10] In Jerusalem they are more often

[9] Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1941), vol 2, pl. 22.

[10] Muḥammad A Ṭalas, *Al-Athār al-Islāmiyyah wal Tārīkhiyyah fī Ḥalab* (Damascus: Publications of the General Direction of Antiquities in Syria, 1956), illustrations, to pp. 125 and 134

seen flanking public fountains, such as the fountain by Bāb al-Silsilah, in the Ḥaram, and on the street of Bāb al-Naṣir.[11] The motif is also seen on mausoleums[12] and on private houses.[13]

Two other decorative elements are set around arches. The first (fig. 170), set on the inner side of the entrance of the connecting vaulted corridor, is a framing band of Tripoli fish scale, with each of the units or "scales" containing a fan-like stylized leaf in both its lower and upper part. The area between this repeat and the arch above is filled with the same stylized fan-like leaves opening vertically toward the top.

The second decorative band set around an arch (fig. 171) is seen on the exterior of the main entrance to the smaller khan. A rectangular gateway is framed by a band of stone molding and encloses an outer arch, also framed by a stone molding and including a repeat (one on each stone) of a stylized, Arabicized fleur-de-lys motif filled with a linear carving following the shape of the flower. The inner arch of this gateway is decorated with the commonplace fish scale. The two main areas of the double Khan al-ʿAskar are connected at street level by a vaulted corridor; the smaller unit has its own entrance and appears to be the more official of the two.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 103–7, photos pp. 105 and 107; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 455, photo 38; Unesco, no. 15, p. 12; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 438.

SUQ AL-ḤARĀJ

Date and founder unknown.

Location

To the southeast of the Jeweler's Suq *(suq al-ṣāghah)*, in the vicinity of Jamiʿ al-Tawbah. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 21.

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[11] Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, *Syrie du Sud: Jérusalem* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vols. 44–45) (1925–27), no. 113, pl 95; no. 114, pl 95, and no. 112, pl. 92.

[12] E g., mausoleum of Ghulbek in the Firdos; Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Nord: Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep*, 2 vols. (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. 78 [1954]), pl. 164, no. 6.

[13] Ṭalas, *Al-Athār fi Ḥalab*, illustration, p 132 See also Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925), 1: 99–100 (fig 351, pl 114), for more examples of a braided column.

History and Inscriptions

Like the khans, the Suq al-Ḥarāj has no founding inscription, and its history is vague. Since there is no reference to its having been built by the Ottomans, and hardly any structures at all were standing at the time of the Mamluk building of Tripoli, it is safe to infer that the Suq al-Ḥarāj is of Mamluk construction. It is completely integrated into the city, and the adjoining buildings appear to have been there for centuries.

Description

The plan of Suq al-Ḥarāj (fig. 172) shows a structure akin to that of a khan, but with a street cutting through its western side dividing it into two. One part is a three-sided building of two stories with shops below and rooms above (figs. 173 and 174) exactly like a khan; it is built around

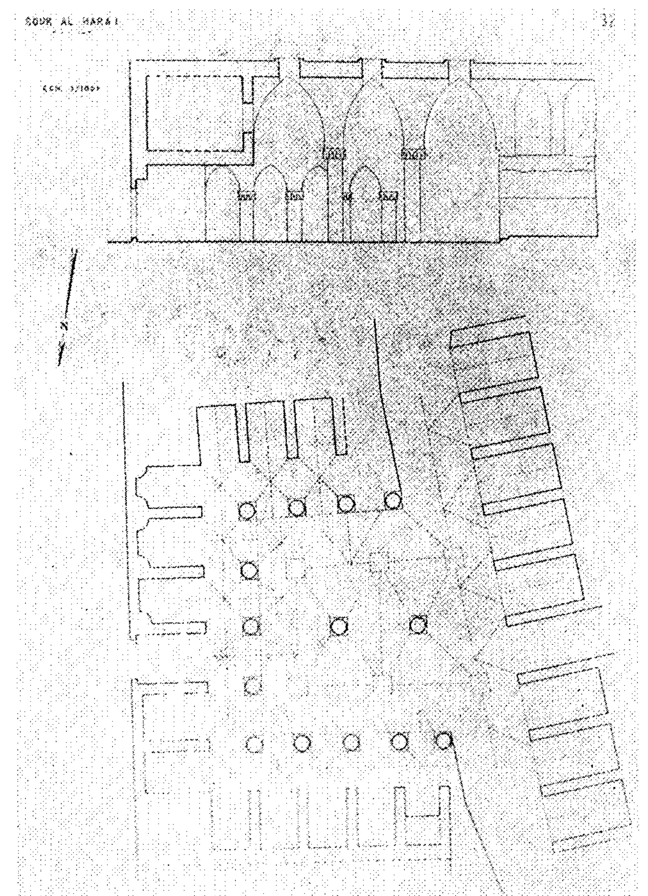


Figure 172. Suq al-Ḥarāj, section and plan.

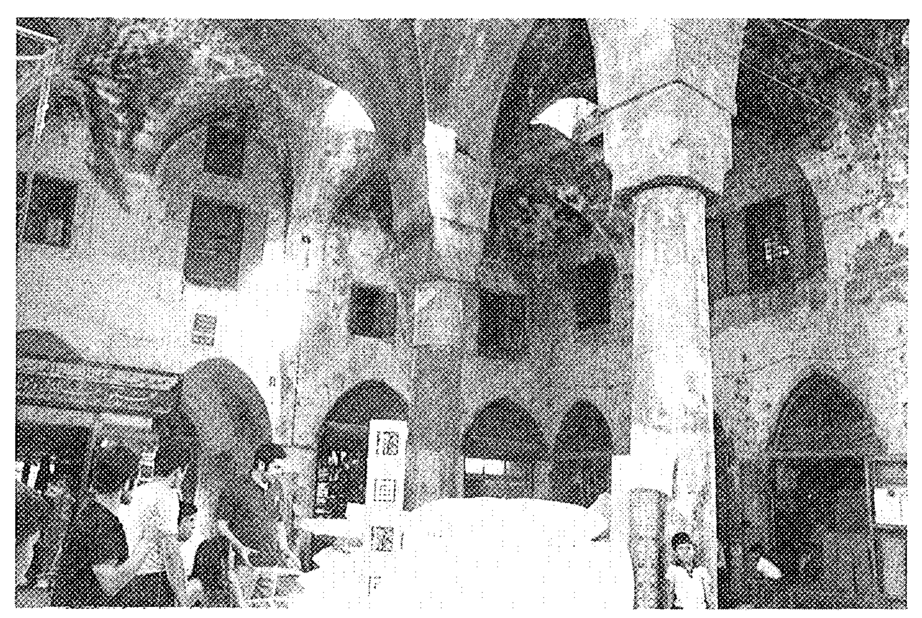


Figure 173. Suq al-Ḥarāj, interior view.



Figure 174. Suq al-Ḥarāj, interior detail.

a square courtyard which is covered like an umbrella by vaulting supported by two central, reused granite columns dating from pre-Muslim times. The other part is also arranged like a khan, with a series of identically sized shops along the street side and a second floor of rooms over them. All in all, the Suq al-Ḥarāj differs from a standard khan only in being bisected by the street and in having a covered courtyard instead of the more usual open one. Aside from the reused columns so common in Tripoli, which here support both the sides and the middle of the courtyard, the building harmonizes well with the other commercial public establishments of the Mamluk period.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 110–12, photo p. 111; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 455; Unesco, no. 14, p. 12.

HAMMAM ʿIZZ AL-DĪN

Built in A.D 1294–98 by ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the commercial center of the city, close to the khans and to the Great Mosque. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 11.

History and Inscriptions

The first hammam built in Mamluk Tripoli, the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn has remained the largest and most important hammam in the city.[14] Constructed during the governorship of ʿIzz al-Dīn (1294–98), it is still functioning today after some seven hundred years of continuous use. It has no inscriptions.

Description

For the practical purpose of saving and keeping heat, ʿIzz al-Dīn, like most hammams, is surrounded by buildings and is hardly visible from the outside;[15] as was also then customary, the façade was kept plain.[16]

[14] When al-Nābulsī visited Tripoli in 1700, the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn was "the best and the largest" on his list of baths (al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, p. 73).

[15] M. Ecochard and C. Le Cœur, *Les bains de Damas*, 2 vols (Beirut: Publications de l'Institut Français de Damas, 1943), 1:16.

[16] Ibid. More elaborate façades begin to appear from the late fourteenth century on, as for example the Hammam al-Tawrīzī in Damascus.

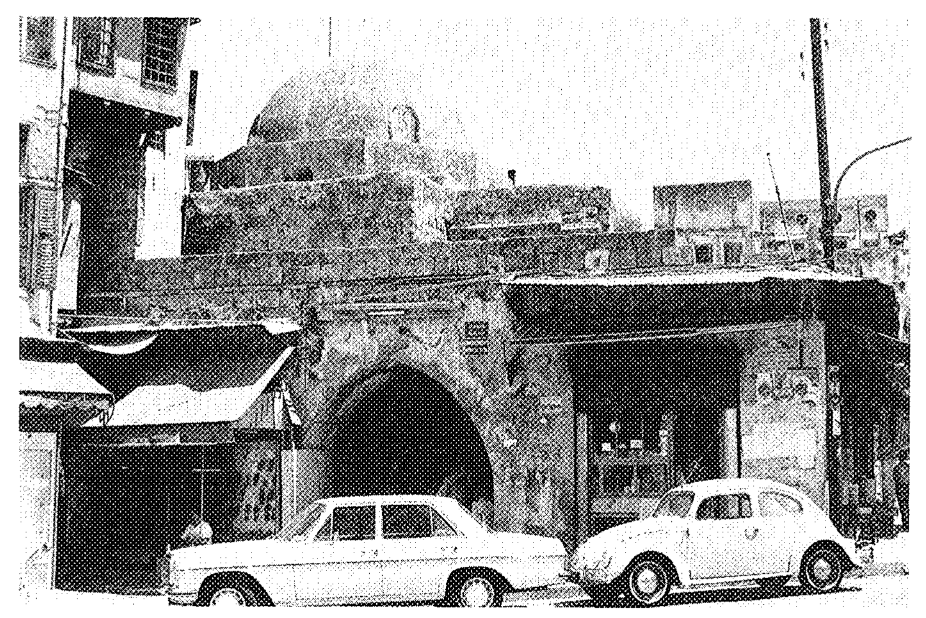


Figure 175. Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, exterior.

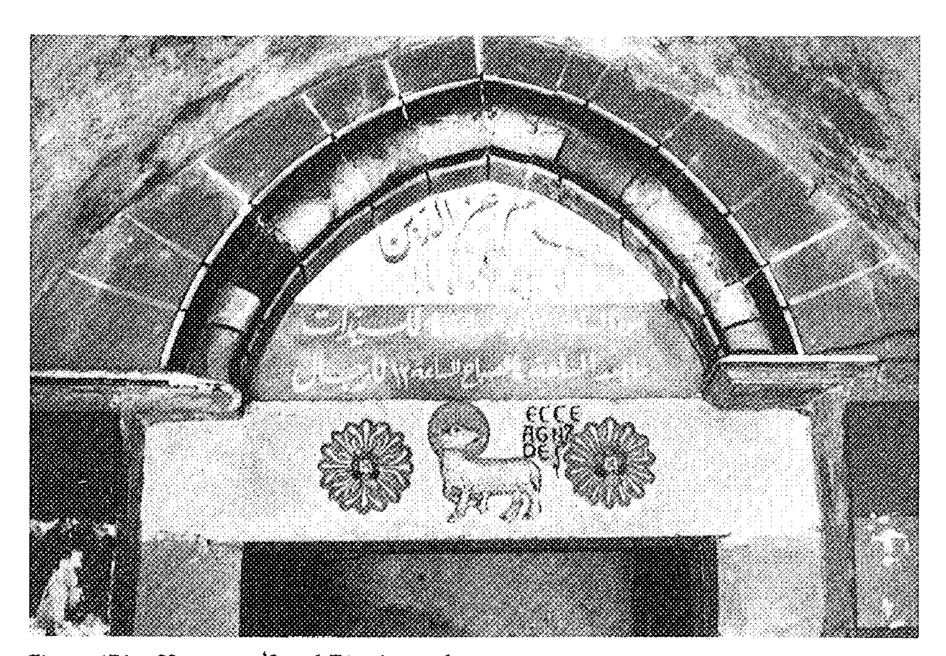


Figure 176 Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, inner door

But simple as it is, the façade of the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn with its plain arched entrance (fig. 175) still has some interesting decorative vignettes taken from an earlier building. Between the arch and a horizontal band of recessed stone molding, two seashells in relief are discernible on either side of the inscription SCS IACOBUS (St. James). The shell is the common symbol in the West for the Apostle James, patron saint of pilgrims, and the entrance was no doubt part of a Christian building, probably a hospice for pilgrims, as van Berchem and Fatio have suggested. Through the entrance corridor an inner door to the hammam shows the Paschal Lamb flanked by two rosettes (fig. 176) and the Latin inscription ECCE AGN. DEI ("Behold the Lamb of God"), which further substantiates that theory. Such a hospice is known to have existed in a suburb of Crusaders' Tripoli. The dedication to St. James fits well with the *Mons peregrinus*, Mount of Pilgrims,[17] the name by which this area of Tripoli at the foot of the Citadel was known to Christian authors and travelers. The lamb also appeared on coins struck in Tripoli during the Crusader period.[18]

While there is no doubt that the corridor leading to the hammam, with its outer and inner doors bearing Christian iconography, is of Crusader origin, there is equally no doubt that the hammam proper belongs to the purest Muslim tradition of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The corridor was probably reused from the hospice because it was handy; the hammam was then built behind it following a Syrian Arab plan that bore no relation to the previous monument. A look at the plan and the cross-section (figs. 177 and 178), accompanied by a careful reading of Ecochard's description of the typical Muslim bath in Damascus,[19] is sufficient to convince us that ʿIzz al-Dīn's bath follows very closely the pattern and arrangement of Syrian baths.

The hammam has a single entrance that leads into a large square room with three raised iwans, an octagonal pool in the center, and a high raised dome with a skylight, all typical and necessary elements of the room known as the mashlaḥ, or changing room. There the bather disrobes leaving his clothes in the drawers provided, and there also he rests after the bath on the couches along the walls of the iwan.[20] This is the only area of the hammam that is free of heat and steam, so whatever furniture is needed has to be kept there.

[17] Max van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 37 [1914]), p. 119.

[18] Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'orient latin* (Paris, 1878), no 8, pl. 4.

[19] Ecochard, *Bains de Damas*, 1: 19–24; typical elements and arrangements gathered from a study of some hundred baths dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries are discussed

[20] Ibid., pp. 19–20.

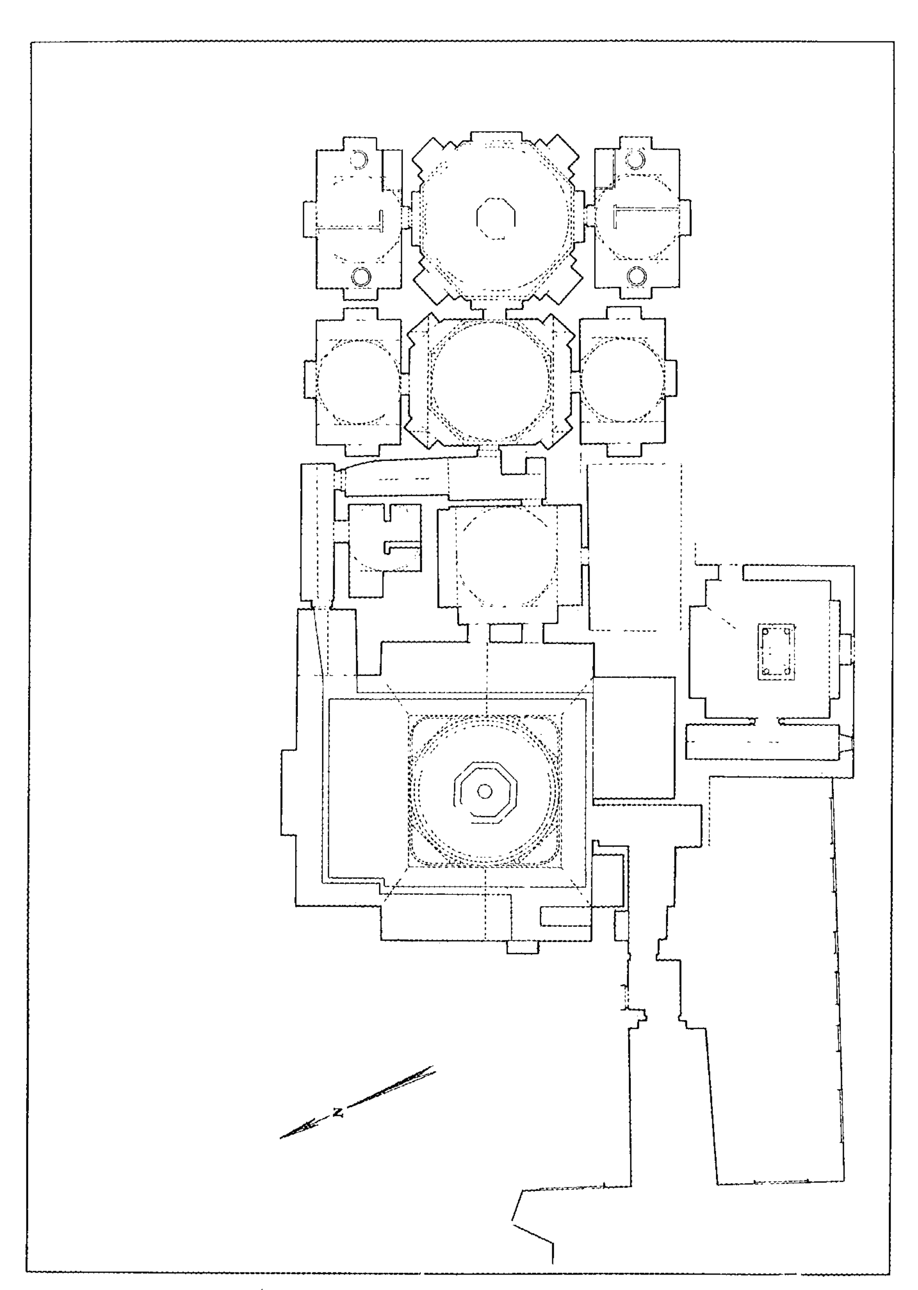


Figure 177. Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, plan.

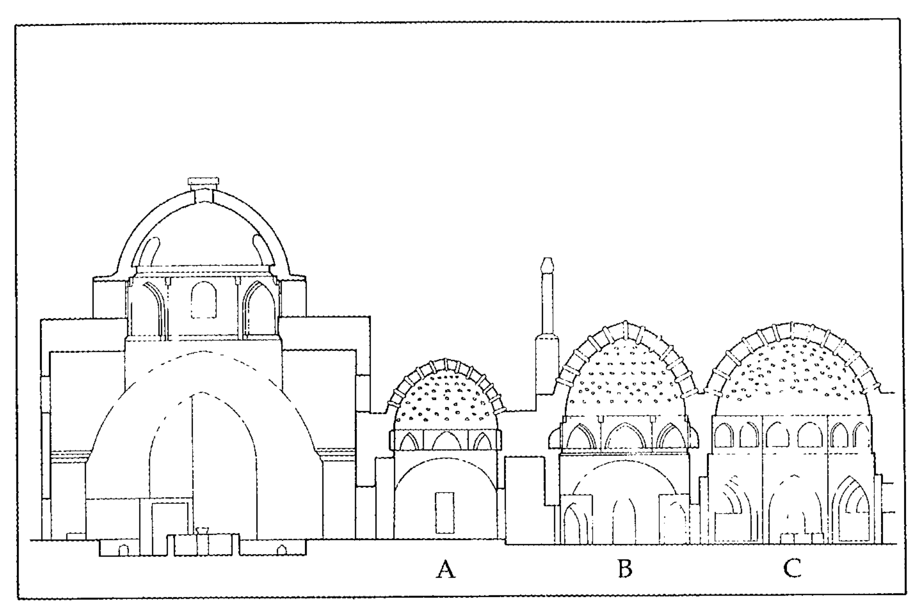


Figure 178 Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, section

From the mashlaḥ one proceeds to the actual bathing area. In all three areas—cold, warm, and hot—steam and heat must be controlled, so every effort is made to avoid drafts; hence there are no windows in a bath. Light is provided by small glass openings studding the domes, which allow a minimum amount to filter through (see fig. 178).

The cold room (A) known as the *wasṭānī barrānī* ("outer central") is the first room of the bath proper and acts as a transition between the cold mashlaḥ and the heated area. The warm room (B) known as the *wasṭānī juwwānī* ("inner central") is the room where beauty treatments take place. This area may consist of one room only or may include several rooms, known as *maqsūrahs,* opening off from it.[21] In the case of the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn the central room has two adjoining maqsurahs.

The hot room (C) known as the *juwwānī ḥarārah* ("inner heat") is where the actual bathing takes place. The clients sit on built-in benches until they perspire, and then they wash. Here again the central room has two side rooms at the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn; the traditional twelfth-century bath had one room only, but more were added to the plan over time.[22]

[21] Ibid., p 24.
[22] Ibid., p. 25.

The Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn with its large changing room, single cold room, three warm rooms, and three hot rooms (the sequence of four areas is clearly seen on the cross-section) is typical for Syrian hammams of the period.

Selected Reading

Van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, pp. 12–21; Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 82–86; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, pp. 451–52; Unesco, no. 3, pp. 12, 15, and photo of dome; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 435.

HAMMAM AL-NŪRĪ

Built in A.D 1333(?) by Nūr al-Dīn(?).

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River in the area of the Great Mosque, across the street from the Madrasah Nūriyyah. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 4.

History and Inscriptions

The Hammam al-Nūrī is said to have been built sometime around 1333 by the same unidentified Nūr al-Dīn who built the Madrasah Nūriyyah.

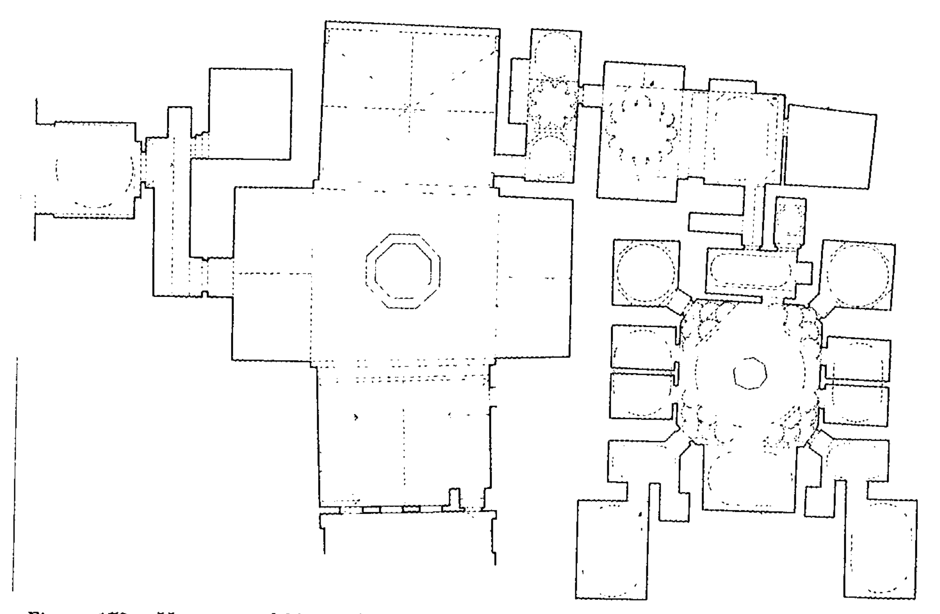


Figure 179. Hammam al-Nūrī, plan.

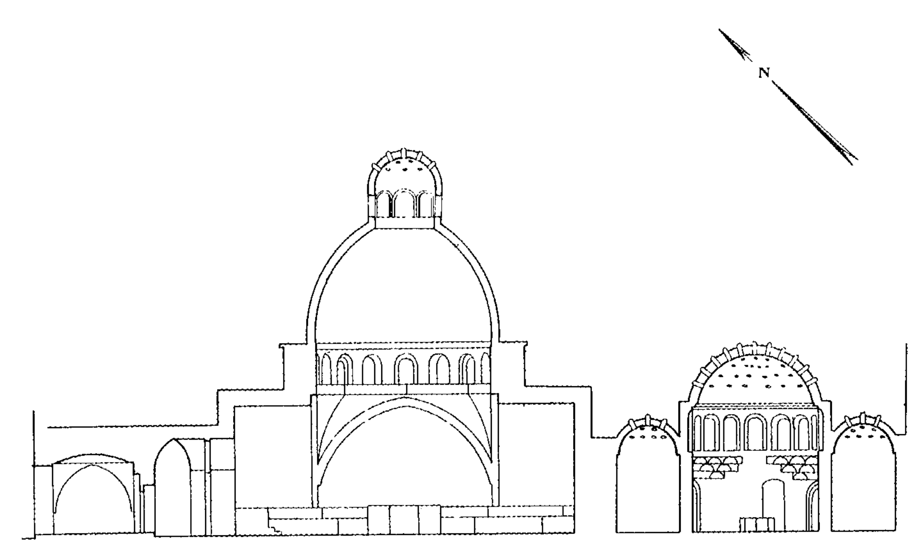


Figure 180. Hammam al-Nūrī, section

Unused since 1970, it has begun to deteriorate. There is no founding inscription.

Description

The plan and cross-section (figs. 179 and 180) show the same familiar elements of a Muslim bath as the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn: a complex entrance that leads indirectly to the hammam both to provide privacy and to avoid drafts; a cruciform changing room with raised mastabahs and an octagonal fountain, a cold area, a warm area, and a hot complex. But in contrast with the balanced plan of the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, where each part of the bath has its function and place in the sequence of activities, the Hammam al-Nūrī is dominated by two areas, the changing room and the hot room; the cold and warm rooms simply link the other two.[23]

The mashlaḥ, or changing room, is gigantic compared with the others; it covers almost half the space occupied by the bath, with iwans as deep as rooms and a central dome raised by a vertical cupola whose skylight constitutes a dome by itself.

The hot room has also grown to include numerous maqsurahs used for private bathing. These are small square, rectangular, or oblong rooms

[23] The Unesco report also noted the reduction in the space set aside for the cold room (p 15).

arranged symmetrically on either side of the central hot room. According to Ecochard, in Damascus at least the warm room was still a central component of the bath in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was not until the sixteenth that the hot room began to outgrow it and to acquire the numerous private maqsurahs[24] which became so popular in the eighteenth century. It is clear, however, that Ecochard is dealing with trends rather than fixed arrangements, and variations must have existed in Damascus as often as they did elsewhere. The organization of the Hammam al-Nūrī is unusual for the fourteenth century, and its variations did not become popular until the sixteenth. Since the 1333 date is not confirmed by inscriptions or texts, it is still open to question on architectural grounds. Unfortunately the evidence by which to solve its problems is not available. All that can be said for certain is that the hammam as it now stands "with its large mashlaḥ with an octagonal fountain and a large hot room with numerous maqsurahs"[25] was already standing in 1700 when al-Nābulsī visited Tripoli and went to the Hammam al-Nūrī for a bath. How long it had been functioning before that is not known.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 46; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 451; Unesco, no. 11, pp. 12 and 15; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus*, p. 434.

[24] Ecochard, *Bains de Damas*, 2: 12–13, where sketches show the development of the hammam plan over time.

[25] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, p. 50, where al-Nābulsī describes his evening at the Hammam al-Nūrī and his admiration for the place.



CHAPTER FIVE

Other Monuments

In addition to the main groups of buildings—mosques, madrasahs, khans, and hammams—are four unique monuments in Mamluk Tripoli: a mausoleum and a fountain; and a khanqah, or monastery, and a mawlawiyyah, or meeting house, for Derwishes. While it is understandable that a city may not require more than one khanqah and one mawlawiyyah to satisfy its institutionalized religious needs, it is more surprising to find only one fountain and one mausoleum built in a new city, when we know that both types of structure were built in large numbers by the Mamluks in Jerusalem, Cairo, and Aleppo. The absence of fountains can be explained by the abundance of water flowing into the city from the mountains, an advantage that greatly impressed the chroniclers and travelers to Tripoli in the fourteenth century. They all marvel at the availability of running water even in houses several stories high, and at the gardens in the courtyards of houses irrigated by water channels.[1] Endowing a fountain in Tripoli would therefore not have been considered the pious act that it was in the drier cities of Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Cairo, where providing for a local water supply was much esteemed.

The absence of free-standing mausoleums can also be explained: Tripoli was neither a capital like Cairo, where sultans and other rich and powerful people could afford luxurious monuments to maintain them in the memories of men, nor was it a holy city like Jerusalem, where those who could afford it would seek to built their final resting place. It was a provincial town, where members of the ruling elite or the middle class seem to have preferred to immortalize themselves by endowing religious buildings of a more practical, functional turn—a madrasah or a mosque—and placing their tombs inside them.

MAUSOLEUM OF ʿIZZ AL-DĪN AYBAK

Built in November A.D 1298 by Aybak Ibn ʿAbdallah, governor of Tripoli.

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[1] Shams al-Dīn Abū Abdallah al-Dimashqī, *Nikhbat al-Dahr fi ʿAjāʾib al-Barr wa al-Baḥr*, ed M A F Mehren (Leipzig, 1923), p 207; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans C. Defrémey and B R Sanguinetti, 4 vols (Paris, 1853–58), 1:138; Ibn Fadl Allah al- Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār*, 20 vols. (Cairo, 1924), 2:472; Abū al-Walīd ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Kitāb al-Durr al-Muntakhab fi Tārīkh Mamlakat Halab*, ed Yousef Sarkis al-Dimashqī (Beirut, 1909), p. 263.



Figure 181. Mausoleum ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, window

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, in the area of Bāb al-Ḥadīd, adjoining the hammam built by the same founder. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 11.

History and Inscriptions

Amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī al-Manṣūrī was a governor of the Mamluk cities of Shawbak (1286), Karak (1294), and Tripoli, where he ruled from 1294 until 1298, when he died and was buried in the mausoleum which he had already had built.[2] He must also have had a saintly reputation, for even today passers-by often stop to pray by his window and occasionally to leave a branch from an aromatic tree (fig. 181), just as they did in 1700 when al-Nābulsī recounts how, "while we were walking, we stopped by the shaykh al-walī ʿIzz al-Dīn and read the Fātiḥah for his soul."[3]

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[2] Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, *Syrie du Nord* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 25) (Cairo, 1909), p. 84 and pl 9

[3] ʿAbd-al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī, *Al-Tuhfah al-Nābulsiyyah fi al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulsiyyah*, ed. Herbert Busse (Beiruter Text und Studien 4) (Beirut, 1971), p 58.

The inscription above the lintel is the epitaph of the founder in four lines of naskh, which reads:[4]

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذه تربة العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى ايبك ابن عبد الله
> الموصلي نائب السلطنه الشريفة بالفتوحات المحروسة — رحمه الله المتوفى فى خامس شهر
> صفر من سنة ثمان وتسعين وستمائه من الهجرة النبوية .

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, this is the mausoleum of the pious servant of God, Aybak, son of ʿAbd-Allah al-Mawṣilī, governor of the royal sultanate in the protected conquered countries, may God the exalted have mercy upon him who passed away on the fifth of Ṣafar of the year six hundred and ninety-eight of the Hijra [November 12, 1298].

Description

ʿIzz al-Dīn's mausoleum, although adjoining the hammam he also built, is the closest Tripoli comes to having a self-contained, independent mausoleum. There is no access to it from the hammam—the mausoleum forms a separate entity and has its own entrance. The plan of the hammam (fig. 177) shows the mausoleum as a simple square room with a tomb in the center and a flat roof. The mausoleum is opened onto the street by a rectangular *mashrabiyyah* (fig. 181) topped by a lintel decorated with blazons, three three-fielded heraldic shields, each with a motif on its middle field identified by Mayer as a *khanja* or table.[5] Above them is the epitaph.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon,* photo p. 83; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* pp. 82–83; Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* p. 84, Inscription 37, plate 9; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah,* p. 58; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām,* p. 452; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus,* p. 435.

ʿAYN AL-TĪNAH FOUNTAIN

Built in A.D. 1413 by Muḥammad Mubarakshāh al-ʿAlāī.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, near the Hammam al-Jadīd and the Jamiʿ al-Muʿallaq and not far from the khanqah. *Tripoli,* Monument no. 29b.

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[4] Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* p 84.

[5] L.A Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), pp 82–83

History and Inscriptions

The ʿAyn al-Tīnah has a founding plaque on its inner wall (fig. 182). The inscription, in four lines of naskh, reads:[6]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انشاء هذا السبيل الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد بن المرحوم زيــن
الد (ين) مباركشاه العلاى فى مستهل (ــــ) سنة ست عشرة وثمنمئه .

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the pious servant of God, Muḥammad, son of the late Zayn al-Dīn Mubarakshāh al-ʿAlāī, has constructed this fountain in the beginning of the year eight hundred and sixteen [1413].

In each of the four corners of the inscription is a shield containing two vertical lines, two dots, and two horizontal lines in its middle field,[7] a blazon identified by Mayer as depicting a pen-box.[8]

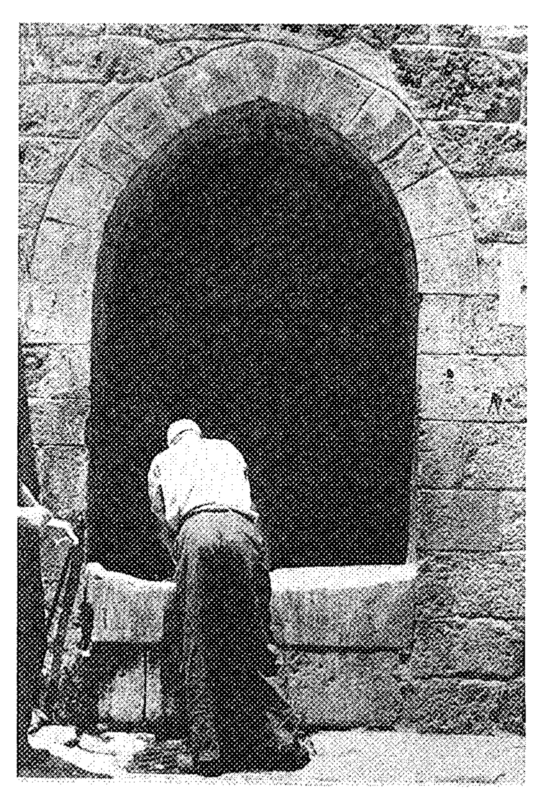


Figure 182 ʿAyn al-Tīnah fountain.

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[6] Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 123–24, Inscription 53.

[7] Sobernheim refers to this blazon as "renfermant des caractères hiéroglyphiques," p. 124, fig. 12, and says that similar ones are common on Mamluk monuments, including the Great Mosque in Damascus and the Duhaysha Fountain in Cairo It is also described by Artin Pasha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient* (London, 1902), p 124.

[8] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 162, for ʿAyn al-Tīnah; p 12, for the pen-box blazon in general.

Description

The ʿAyn al-Tīnah is a simple, functional fountain with none of the decorative or monumental effects so common to public fountains built by the Mamluks in Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo. It consists of a small niche on a stone wall with a basin and a side slab of stone which holds the founding plaque.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, p. 60; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 123–24, Inscription 53 and fig. 12; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 162; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 456; Unesco, no. 26, p. 12.

THE KHANQAH

Built about A.D. 1467; founder unknown.

Location

Left bank of the Qadisha River, near the ʿAyn al-Tīnah Fountain, on an alley leading up to the Citadel. *Tripoli*, Monument no. 29a.

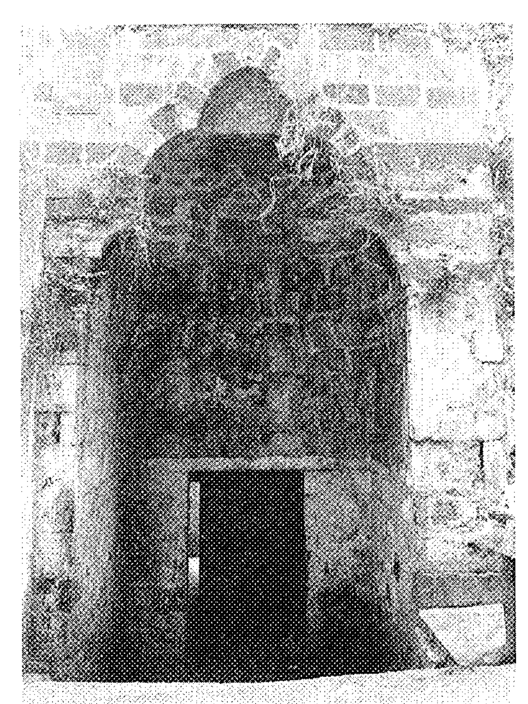


Figure 183 Khanqah, main entrance

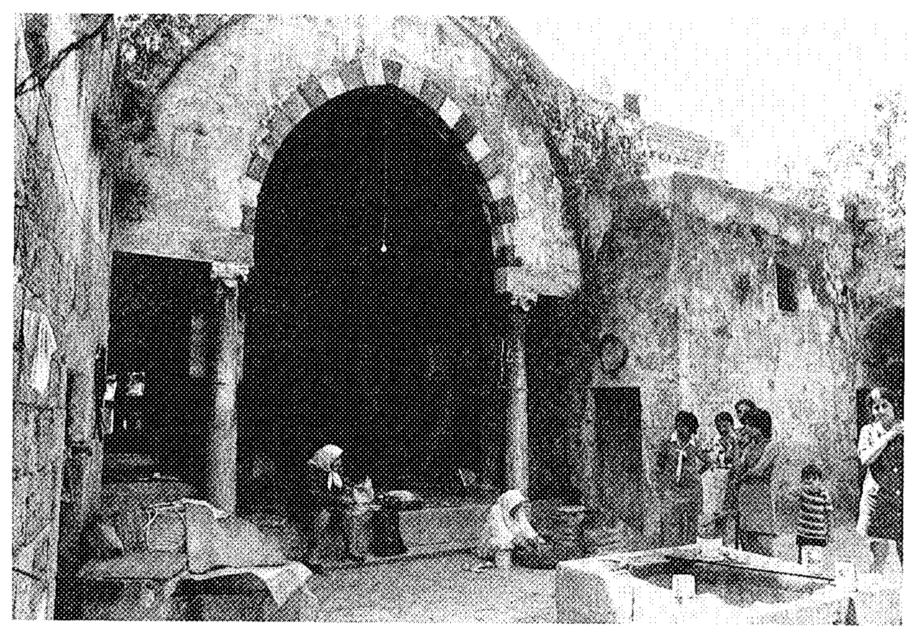


Figure 184. Khanqah, courtyard.

History and Inscriptions

The khanqah does not carry a founding inscription and does not seem to have attracted the attention of travelers or historians. The 1467 date has been mentioned by several authors, but with no evidence cited or reference given to support it.[9]

Khanqah is a composite word of Persian origin, which was usually used to designate a building constructed to house Sufis, mainly Derwishes or other mystics,[10] often in frontier regions or in cities where there might be some threat of Christian influence. In architectural terms the building had to provide accommodations for group activities as well as for housing the mystics. Since it had some of the same requirements and therefore some of the features of a madrasah, it did not develop its own distinctive architecture, but it still remained rather different from the typical madrasah building.

The Tripoli khanqah is said subsequently to have become a home for the elderly and to have served that function for a long time. It is now

[9] Paul Collart et al., *La ville de Tripoli et son développement historique* (Paris: Unesco, 1954) (hereafter Unesco), p. 12, no. 31; Bruce Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1961), p 65; al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām fi Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967), p. 435.

[10] J. Chabbi, "Khanqah," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed.

inhabited by refugee families from Palestine who have considerably altered its interior arrangement to suit the practical requirements of multifamily living, but some of its original elements and features remain intact.

Description

The entrance (fig. 183) shows a polylobed archway on a wall of alternate courses of black and white stone that include a simple horizontal band of muqarnas and is topped by the remnant of what was once a stone molding. The doors open onto a large courtyard with a pool in the center (fig. 184) and an axial iwan which is about 50 centimeters higher than the courtyard and set deeply behind a large arch of black and white stone resting on two reused granite columns with marble capitals. The other sides of the courtyard have been so altered and built up as no longer to allow a determination of their original arrangement. Only the doorway courtyard and the iwan can be identified as having belonged to the fifteenth-century khanqah; the rest is of recent construction.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 64–65; Salem, *Ṭarāblus al-Shām*, p. 435; Unesco, p. 12, no. 31, and pl. 16.

THE MAWLAWIYYAH

Date and patron unknown (fifteenth century?).

Location

Upstream and outside the walls on a left-bank hill overlooking the Qadisha River. Unnumbered.

History and Inscriptions

The Mawlawiyyah was built as a meeting place for Mawlawīs, or Derwishes, followers of Mawlânā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, the thirteenth-century Sufi from Konya in Anatolia who founded their order. The Derwishes and Whirling Derwishes were Sufis who believed that true religious ecstasy was attained through the repeated chanting of mystic incantations and performing of whirling dances. This Mawlawiyyah was still being used for their performances into the 1960s. Originally an important center for them, it is now in a sad state of disrepair and decay. When it was first built, however, it was no doubt a large and prosperous monas-

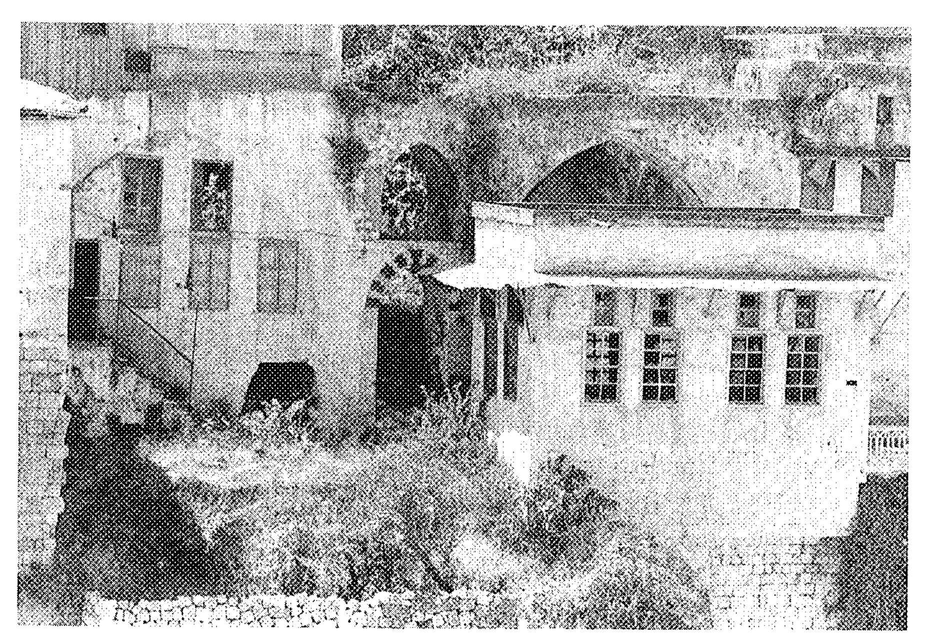


Figure 185. Mawlawiyyah, view.

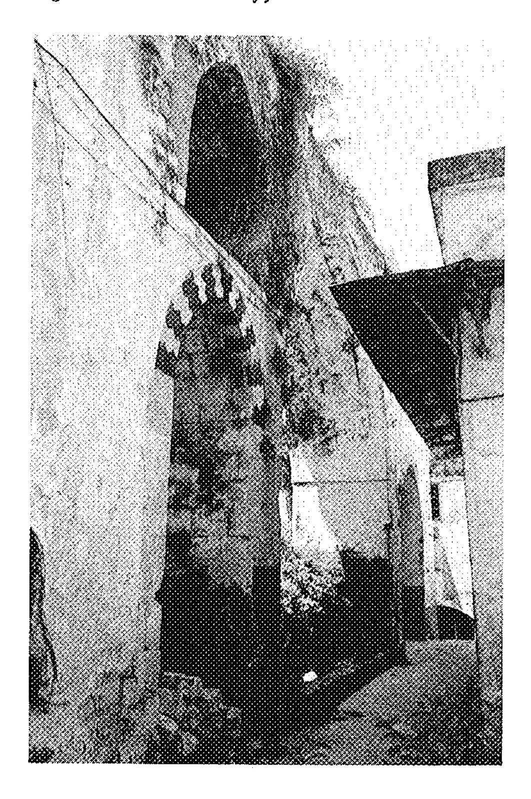


Figure 186 Mawlawiyyah, detail of remains

tic structure,[11] but only a few elements remain to testify to that past glory (fig. 185). There is no founding inscription.

Description

A long, rectangular vaulted hall facing the river shows the remnants of a façade with two wide arches (one still open and one recently filled in) and two units of two arches each, the lower one framed by joggled black and white stones (fig. 186). What remains of the Mawlawiyyah does not allow us to reconstruct the shape and arrangement of the rest of the building, but al-Nābulsī at least gives us a description of what it looked like in 1700. He was so enthusiastic about its splendors and the beauty of its location that he wrote three poems about it,[12] and his description is longer and more detailed than that he provided for any of Tripoli's other monuments:

> This mawlawiyyah has elevated and pleasant places; in it are three seating areas .. the first is large in size and more beautiful than the moon, with a white marble fountain in front from which water overflows into another fountain. Also in front is a platform arranged for listening to the Derwishes; it is large and wide with an impressive dome.... And between the seating area and this place arranged for the Derwishes is a long and wide pool to which water is brought from the river through eighteen pipes. At the foot of this seating area is another, also raised and also with two iwans, but without water. It, too, includes a small seating area with a single iwan reached by stairs and a marble fountain surrounded by marble flooring.

From this description we can deduce that the Mawlawiyyah was a large one, with three seating areas, two with two iwans each and one with a single iwan, the whole dotted with pools and fountains supplied through pipes from the river below.

Selected Reading

Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon*, pp. 130–36; al-Nābulsī, *Al-Riḥlah*, pp. 73–78; Seabrook, *Adventures in Arabia*, two chapters.

[11] The size of the monument and the quality of its building material testify to its having been an imposing structure. In the 1920s, William Seabrook devotes two enthusiastic chapters to Tripoli's Mawlawiyyah entitled: "In the Place of the Mewlewi" and "Daidan Helmy's Leap," in his *Adventures in Arabia*, London, n.d.

[12] Al-Nābulsī, *Al-Rihlah*, pp. 73–77



CHAPTER SIX

Methods and Materials of Construction and Decoration

The monuments of Tripoli use cut stone almost exclusively, both inside and outside, for walls, piers, and vaults, and in all types of structures. The local red or yellow sandstone was commonly used to construct modest buildings like the Madrasah ʿAjamiyyah and the Madrasah Shamsiyyah, commercial buildings like the Khan al-Miṣriyyīn, and functional structures like the ʿAyn al-Tīnah Fountain. It was occasionally combined with an almost black, close-grained stone for accents and decorative effects.

Well-cut and well-dressed stone is a medium of construction that provides an air of solidity, sobriety, and grandeur to a building. We can see this in the façade of the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, the entrance to the Burṭāsiyyah, and to dramatic and superlative effect in the muqarnas half-domes over the portals of the Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār and the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah. When it follows the lines of the architecture, carefully executed masonry can make even the functional elements of a building look powerful and impressive, as it does in the domes of the mosques of al-Burṭāsī and Ṭaynāl, the gates of al-ʿAṭṭār and the Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah. Stone was also used for decorative motifs on walls, arches, and openings, since it is sturdy and versatile and permits extravagant tours-de-force.

Visual effects can also be produced by a mixture of stones on façades and around openings. The form most widely used in Tripoli was the so-called ablaq, a technique of alternating courses of light and dark stone, named after the Qaṣr al-Ablaq constructed by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in Damascus in 1266. Shihāb al-Dīn described that building as having an outer wall "made from top to bottom of black and yellow stones arranged in such a way that a course of one color was followed by a course of the other color."[1] Dimashqī says that "the Qaṣr al-Ablaq in Damascus bears the name, Ablaq, because it is built of black and white stone."[2] In Tripoli it was used for the façades

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[1] Shihāb al-Dīn, quoted and translated by M. Quatremère in *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, 2 vols (Paris, 1862), 1: 44–45.

[2] Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallah al-Dimashqī, *Nikhbat al-Dahr fi ʿAjāʾib al-Barr wa al-Bahr*, ed. M.A.F. Mehren (Leipzig, 1923), pp 39–40.

of the Nāṣiriyyah, the Mashhad, and the Jami' al-Ṭaḥḥān; for the gateway of the Nūriyyah and the Burṭāsiyyah; and for both the internal and external portals of the Mosque of Ṭaynāl. As a decorative accent of only a few courses ablaq was used on the façade of al-Burṭāsī; and as a framing architectural element, for the windows on the Khayriyyah Ḥasan, the Khātūniyyah, the Saqraqiyyah, and the Mosque of Arghūn Shāh, and around the arches of the Khayriyyah Ḥasan, the khanqah, and the Mawlawiyyah.

First used in Syria where black basalt was widely available, it became popular in Egypt where it was introduced by Sultan Baybars, who brought the technique from Syria after 1300.[3] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ablaq was widespread in the Mamluk empire. In Aleppo it can be seen on the windows and gates the Mamluks added to the Citadel;[4] in Damascus on the Madrasah Afridūniyyah (1343), the Madrasah Jaqmaqiyyah (1421), and the complex of Tawrīzī (1420),[5] and in Jerusalem on the façades of the Arghūniyyah (1385) and the Muẓhiriyyah (1480).[6] The popularity of ablaq masonry in Tripoli by the first half of the thirteenth century anticipated its use in other cities, probably because it was so closely connected to Syria, where the technique was first used.

The ablaq technique of the Mamluk world had its parallel in the Romanesque banding in the West[7] that alternated courses of black and white marble or other stone, a style that flourished throughout northern Italy. One need only recall the Duomo in Siena (1250), where the interior of the nave is completely built of alternate courses of black and white marble; the Palazzo Lamba-Doria in Genoa (after 1298), where the exterior of the four-story palace is all built of striped black and white marble; the Church of San Francesco in Siena (1326), where the interior alternates two courses of white and one of black throughout; and finally the Duomo of Matteo da Campione at Monza (1396) with a façade of alternating colors.[8] The technique was extensively and skillfully used on important monuments in Italy before it became very widespread in Syria and Egypt. Whether we are dealing with independent decorative

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[3] K A C Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (henceforth *MAE*), 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–59), 2:171, 260–64.

[4] Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt 2, *Syrie du Nord: Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 2 vols. (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vol 78) (1954), vol. 2, figs. a and b, pl. 42.

[5] Selim 'Abdul Hak and Khaled Moaz, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas* (Damascus: Publications de la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, n d), p. 111, pl 41; p. 112, pl. 42; p. 115, pl. 43

[6] Michael H. Burgoyne, "Tariq Bab al-Hadid: A Mamluk Street in the Old City of Jerusalem," *Levant* 5 (1973): 12–35, pls. 18 and 23.

[7] John White, *Art and Architecture of Italy, 1250–1400* (Pelican History of Art) (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 20; and p 167, fig 14B

[8] Ibid., illustrations, pp. 72, 160, 350.

developments or with the influence of a north Italian style on Syria is unknown; to my knowledge, no study has been undertaken to determine whether there is a connection or not.

SUPPORTS

Columns, mainly of reused granite with either reused classical or contemporary muqarnas capitals, are occasionally found as supports, but the instances are rare; columnar buildings were not common in Tripoli, and when they were used, it was only in mosques. The Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān has four reused classical columns, with capitals intact, dividing the prayer hall into nine bays covered by vaulting; the Mosque of Ṭaynāl also has four columns, this time dividing the vestibule into a three-aisled area. Piers are another kind of support not commonly used, and then only in mosques. They are found in the Great Mosque, the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, the Jamiʿ al-Tawbah, and the Jamiʿ Arghūn Shāh, and in each case they divide the prayer hall into bays covered by a superstructure. Columns and piers are probably encountered in the prayer halls of mosques because they provide a support for the roof that leaves space for large gatherings and they lend a sense of unity to large areas. In any case their use is limited to the six mosques; in the mosques of al-Burṭāsī and Ṭaynāl and in the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah a three-iwan plan

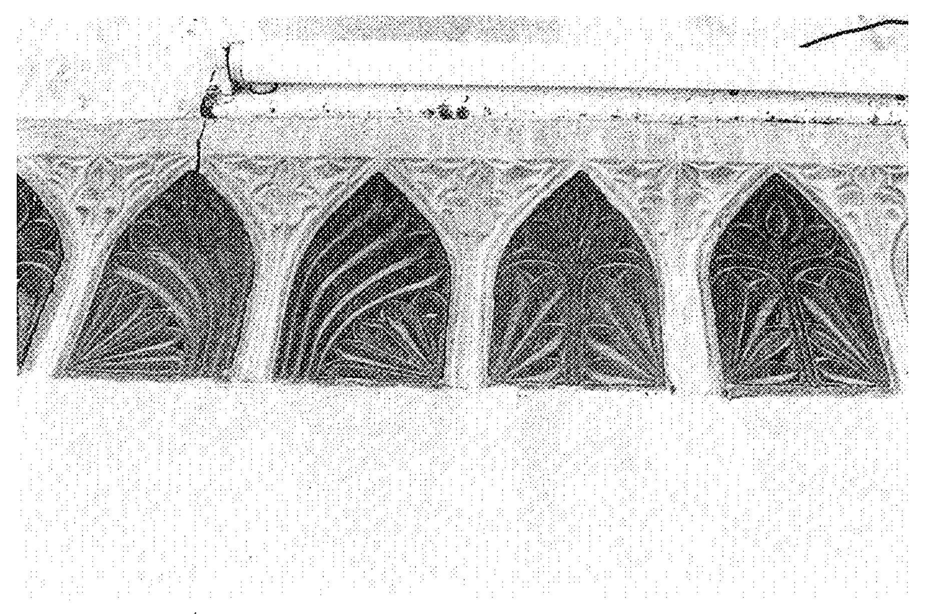


Figure 187 Jamiʿ al-Tawbah, decorative frieze framing the western wall of the courtyard (detail of figure 86)

around a court utilizes walls and wall segments rather than columns and piers for its supports.

The most common support was either a plain, simple wall or a wall pierced by arches and bays. Since most of the buildings involved are already small and are broken up into a series of still smaller areas, the wall was the most appropriate choice since it could act as both divider and support. The choice of support for buildings is also directly related to the superstructure the supports have to carry. Vaults and domes usually require walls; the early traditional flat roofs rested on columns.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Flat, wooden roofs are unknown and flat, stone roofs are very rare in Tripoli. Vaulting and domical structures commonly cover square and rectangular areas. Occasionally there are simple barrel vaults, especially in khans and corridors, but the simple cross-vault is by far the more popular type. Simple cross-vaults cover the bays created by pillars in prayer halls, the galleries around courtyards, entrance bays, square and rectangular rooms in small madrasahs, the series of rooms in the khans—in short, practically every area in need of roofing.

In typical Tripoli vaulting the lines of the cross-vault have a concave groove which starts from the corner of the wall or arch and widens toward the center, the four grooves usually meeting in a central concave rosette. Examples of this pattern abound on the plans and cross-sections of the Tripoli buildings. Two instances can be seen in the Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan, two in the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, two in the Saqraqiyyah, three in the Khātūniyyah, and two in the Jami' al-Tawbah. It is also occasionally seen on Mamluk monuments elsewhere, but nowhere does it turn up with the same frequency as in Tripoli. In Cairo it was exclusively used to cover small square vestibules, as in the entrance to the Madrasah of Umm Sultan Sha'bān (1368–69),[9] the entrance to the convent of Faraj ibn Barqūq (1400–1404),[10] and the entrance to the Mosque of Gānim al-Bahlawān (1478–1510).[11] In Aleppo this typical cross-vault with concave lines is also found in vestibules: in the entrance to the Jami' al-Tunbughā (1318) and the entrance to the Khan al-Wazīr.[12] In Mardin it turns up in the vestibule to the madrasah of Sultan 'Isā (1385).[13] All these examples follow the principle of

[9] Creswell Photographic Archives, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, III.
[10] Ibid., IV 53
[11] Egypt, Ministry of Waqf, *The Mosques of Egypt from A D. 641 to A.D. 1946*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1949), vol. 2, pl. 142
[12] Neither of these examples is published
[13] Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, 2 vols. (Paris: Boccard, 1940), vol 2, pl 19:3

concave cross-vaulting lines, but invariably have consistently sharper and better defined edges and meet, not in a simple concave rosette, but in octagonal openings or more complex concave rosettes. One example from Homs, however, has more affinity with the Tripoli vaulting. Two areas of the Madrasah Darwīshiyyah, the western iwan and the area in front of the mihrab, are covered by a Tripoli vaulting that includes the central simple concave rosette in the center.[14]

The concave rosette is also encountered as a decorative motif in the ceilings of monuments in the Muslim West, but not as a central part of a vaulting system; instead it stands alone as a motif in the muqarnas alveolated domes. In Marrakesh, for instance, one can see a repeat of round-petaled concave rosettes alternating with pointed rosettes in the ceiling of the Kutubiyyah,[15] and a single rosette in the center of the Qubbat al-Barūdiyīn.[16] In Palermo the concave rosette with round petals is one of the many decorative motifs used in the ceiling of the Capella Palatina,[17] which was built by Muslim craftsmen.

In addition to vaulting, domes in a great variety of sizes and shapes were a common means of roofing. The areas covered by domes are invariably the most important, conspicuous, and sacred parts of a building. All tomb chambers, for instance, are domed; so are most areas in front of the mihrab and most courtyards of covered madrasahs. Some of them, such as the domes of the Burṭāsiyyah, are extremely well built and very logical in their arrangement; others are awkward in both conception and execution, as is the case with the otherwise perfectly built Qarṭāwiyyah. Most of the domes are plain simple cupolas, as in the Qādiriyyah, the Nūriyyah, and the mosques of Ṭaynāl and al-Burṭāsī, but some are ribbed both inside and out. The ribs can be concave and of equal size, as seen in the Saqraqiyyah and in front of the mihrab in the Mosque of Ṭaynāl, or alternating narrow with wide, as in the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, and the Jamiʿ al-Tawbah.

The problem of transition from square room to round dome was solved in a number of ways, reflecting some of the various possibilities offered by Muslim architecture at the time for bridging the gap between cupola and walls. The use of double drums with a sixteen-sided zone resting on an octagonal zone with a variety of openings in each was

[14] Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus, Studies in Architecture (A.D. 1100–1300)," *Ars Islamica* 9–12 (1942–46), 9: 16, fig. 18, showing floor plan of Darwīshiyyah

[15] R. Landau and W. Swaan, *Afrique mauresque* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1968), pl. 17.

[16] Georges Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'occident* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954), illustration, p. 204

[17] Ibid., p 96

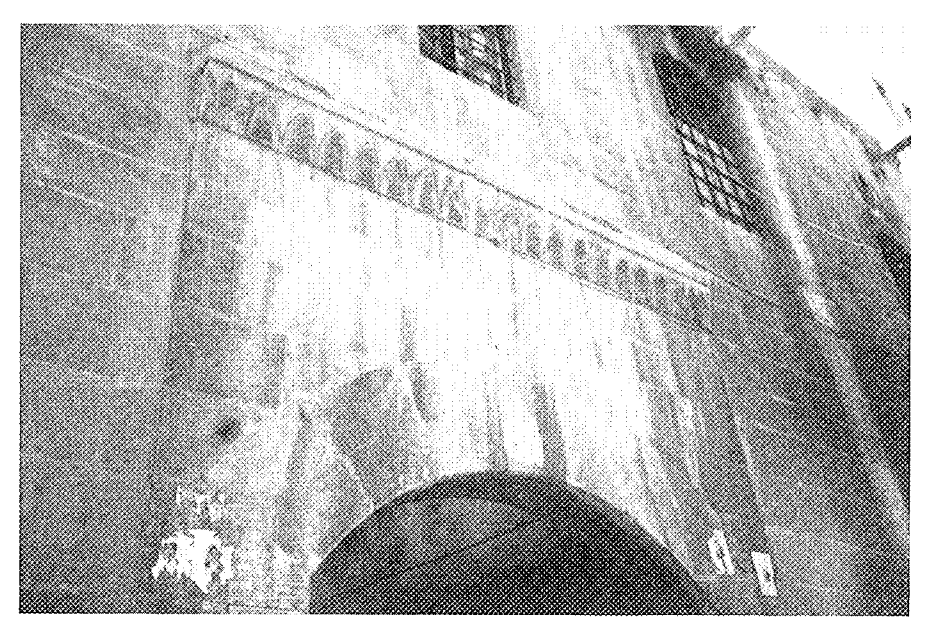


Figure 188. Aleppo, Qayṣariyyat Mīrū, side entrance.

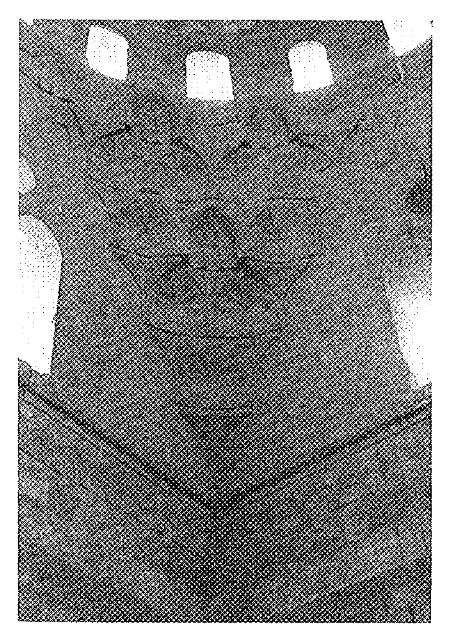


Figure 189. Cairo, Mausoleum of Sab' Banāt, interior

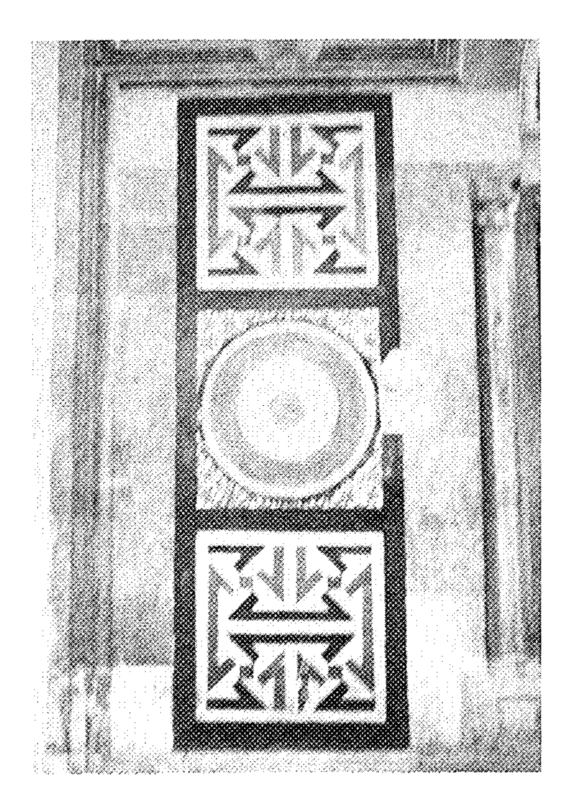


Figure 190 Damascus, Mosque of al-Qaṣṣāb, qiblah wall.

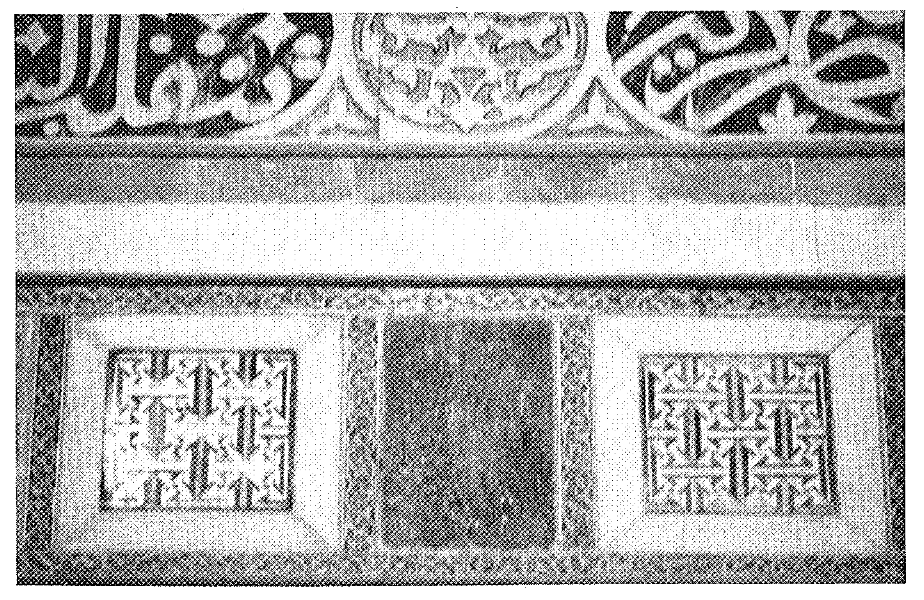


Figure 191 Damascus, Madrasah Jaqmaqiyyah, qiblah wall

a standard procedure. Where the differences occur is in how the final four corner squinches relate the superstructure to the walls below. A common type of squinch, seen in the Great Mosque, the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn, the Madrasah Qādiriyyah, and the Mosque of Ṭaynāl (in front of the inner portal), is a fan-shaped concave corner unit ending in a ninety-degree angle over the corner of the room. Two other kinds of corner squinches, said by Sauvaget to be characteristic of Aleppo and Damascus,[18] can also be found in Tripoli. The Damascus type can be seen in its purest form in the Masjid ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and in the Mashhad, and in modified form in front of the mihrab of the Burṭāsiyyah; the Aleppo type embellishes the impressive dome over the court of the Burṭāsiyyah. The plain triangular pendentive is used over the vestibule in the Mosque of Ṭaynāl and over the entrance area in the Mosque of al-ʿAṭṭār. Otherwise the squinches, large and small, appear to be adaptations of, or variations on, the other four types.

DECORATION

Once a building was planned and endowed, the next important consideration was its decoration. Decorations could be either simple or complex, part of the structure or applied to it, in monochrome or in polychrome, but they were always indicative of the patron's wealth as well as of a desire to beautify the building. The areas of a monument most apt to be decorated are, therefore, its most conspicuous parts. On the outside of the buildings, the minaret (if there is one), portal, and windows are the three elements where decoration tends to be concentrated. Minarets are the landmark of a mosque (madrasahs in Tripoli do not have minarets, aside from the Burṭāsiyyah which was built as both a place of prayer and a madrasah and became exclusively a jamiʿ). The minaret's most visible upper part is the most elaborately decorated, whether a cube over a square shaft or a cylinder over a round one. In the case of the square minarets (the minarets of al-ʿAṭṭār, al-Tawbah, and al-Burṭāsī) the upper cube is larger than the shaft and rests on a decorative muqarnas arranged in a continuous band or in corner motifs or over a band of triangular elements; it is opened by decorative double windows and is topped by a conical roof over a short shaft. The circular minarets (the mosques of Arghūn Shāh and al-Uwaysī) have a side cylindrical unit resting on a wide ring of decorative flattened-out muqarnas which in turn carries another cylindrical unit topped by a conical roof. In two instances the decoration is evenly distributed on the entire height of the shaft: in the Great Mosque simple windows adorn the minaret at all levels, and in the minaret of al-Ṭaḥḥān's

[18] Jean Sauvaget, "Architecture musulmane de Syrie," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 8 (1934): 37–41.

mosque, a complex decorative plan covers it entirely, a perfect example of an external, visible element broadcasting the wealth of the benefactor.

Portals are another common recipient of decoration. All the Tripoli buildings, no matter how large or small, have some developed unit for an entrance, and quite often gates are their most elaborate and decorated element. The mosques of al-ʿAṭṭār and of Ṭaynāl, the madrasahs Nūriyyah, Qādiriyyah, and Ṭuwayshiyyah all have their decorative elements concentrated on, if not restricted to, their gateways. The portal through which the monument is entered becomes the single most ambitious element of those buildings. In other instances, the portal reflects the beauty and decoration of the interior, as in the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, or the simplicity and minimal decoration of the building inside, as in the Madrasah Shamsiyyah and the Jamiʿ Arghūn Shāh. Rarely do we have, as in the Burṭāsiyyah, a portal less decorated than an interior. The gateways were regarded as the showpieces of the monuments to which they were attached and hence received as much decoration as the founder could afford to commission.

Finally, a third element which was apt to be decorated were the windows. Windows are invariably framed by ablaq and almost always topped by a course of joggled stone. The madrasahs Khayriyyah Ḥasan, Saqraqiyyah, Khātūniyyah, Nūriyyah, Nāṣiriyyah, and Qādiriyyah, and the mosques of Arghūn Shāh and al-Burṭāsī all exhibit windows framed by ablaq and set off from the rest of the wall. The lintel above the window or the course of stone above the lintel is always of joggled stone forming a decorative pattern of varying complexity. Occasionally a relieving arch above the lintel of a window, as on the southern wall of the Qarṭāwiyyah, is built of joggled black and white stone in quite an elaborate pattern. While joggled stone was used as early as Roman and Ptolemaic times,[19] joggled lintels and voussoirs in complex patterns with alternating colored stones were not widely used until the Ayyubids; they enjoyed their greatest popularity with the Mamluks, and reached the point of almost ridiculous complexity toward the end of the Mamluk period.[20]

Inside the mosques and madrasahs, areas most commonly decorated are the mihrab wall toward which people turn in prayer, the mihrab itself, the focus of the building, and occasionally the floors in the most important areas. The qiblah walls in the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, the

[19] Creswell cites the examples of a Roman bridge near Cordoba, of Ptolemaic Egypt, and of pre-Muslim Syria in the Hauran, and of Rusafa.

[20] See examples in Herzfeld, "Damascus, Studies in Architecture," pt. 3, *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946), figs. 13–17.

Mosque of al-Burṭāsī, and the Mashhad are organized walls with extensive decoration to provide those praying with a view of the most beautiful and elaborate decoration the building has to offer. As is always the case in Tripoli and elsewhere in the Muslim world, the mihrab, as the most important feature of a religious building, is the most elaborately decorated. Even if the interior is otherwise unadorned, the mihrab will be identifiable by some sort of decorative feature, as for example a cushion arch in the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, a band of twisted knots in the Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān, and the simple columns with capitals in the Jamiʿ al-Uwaysī and the Great Mosque. In elaborate interiors, the mihrab is correspondingly more elaborate; it acquires marble paneling and joggled polychrome arches in the Qarṭāwiyyah and the Burṭāsiyyah, combined in the Burṭāsiyyah with a mosaic half-dome. The Madrasah Nūriyyah and the now almost totally destroyed Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah provide the two only instances of mihrabs with extensive decoration on an otherwise plain qiblah wall.

A final interior element that is commonly decorated is the floor. In the areas of important buildings where people pray or perform ablutions, the floors have extensive marble decoration in organized square patterns, as in the Mosque of Ṭaynāl, the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, and the Burṭāsiyyah; simpler but still effective marble floors are also to be seen in the Madrasah Nūriyyah and the Madrasah Qādiriyyah.

Decoration falls into one of two categories: it is either part of the architecture, and therefore in the case of Tripoli, in stone; or it is applied to the architecture, in Tripoli usually in the form of marble plaques or panels. Where it is part of the architecture it can be an integral part of the medium of construction itself, as the ablaq walls of the Ṭaḥḥān mosque and the Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, or the ablaq portals of the Mosque of Ṭaynāl and the Madrasah Nūriyyah. It can also frame the construction, as the plain moldings around the Qarṭāwiyyah and the Qādiriyyah, or the zigzag moldings around the Nāṣiriyyah, the Mashhad, and Ṭaynāl's inner portal, or the fish-scale motif surrounding the Ṭuwayshiyyah, the Khayriyyah Ḥasan, or the inner façade of al-Tawbah. It can be a framing motif of ablaq around an arch, as on the Khanqah, the Mawlawiyyah, and the entrance to the Khayriyyah Ḥasan, or around a window with joggled lintels or voussoirs. An important and impressive example of the integral kind of decoration is the muqarnas portal; the mosques of al-ʿAṭṭār and Ṭaynāl and the madrasahs Qarṭāwiyyah and Ṭuwayshiyyah provide good examples.

A very different kind of decoration, but one that can also be considered part of the architecture and is sometimes used as a decorative motif, are the inscriptions. In most of these buildings the inscriptions perform a utilitarian function—they are only there for the message they

contain—but in a few instances, as on the Saqraqiyyah and the ʿAjamiyyah, the inscription, given a prominent place on the façade, has a definite decorative function as well. The inscriptions between lintels and relieving arches on the Qarṭāwiyyah and on Ṭaynāl's portal also have a decorative function.

Structural decoration is most often to be found on the outside of a building; applied decoration is almost entirely confined to the interior. Applied decoration is most commonly in the form of marble paneling affixed to walls and floors in square and rectangular plaques utilized as a lining for elaborate mihrabs. Marble plaques are also occasionally used as polychrome decorative units set on portals, as we have seen them on the Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār and the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah. Though marble marquetry is by far the most common technique used for applied decoration, stucco is also found—it is, for example, applied to the qiblah wall of the Mashhad and to the zone of transition of the Saqraqiyyah—and so is mosaic—glass mosaics decorate the half-dome of the mihrab in the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī.

Stone decorations are of a typical Mamluk pattern found throughout the Muslim world. The pattern is a complex interlace forming both small and large concentric, star-shaped elements. Extremely popular in the Mamluk world in architecture as well as in a whole range of the minor arts, the pattern is seen on decorative stone plaques on the Khan al-Manzil, the Jamiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār, and the windows of the southern wall of the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, and in polychrome marble on the inner façade of the Mosque of Ṭaynāl, and on the half-dome on the entrance to the Mashhad.

Another motif which frequently occurs is the fish scale, a series of pointed arches forming a band that resembles a completely flattened-out muqarnas. It is often used as a framing device for façades, doorways, mihrabs, and other architectural elements. In its simplest form, it frames the façades of the Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan, the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, and the Khan al-Manzil. A more elaborate version, with carved stylized leaves arranged fan-like within the arches and stems, has stylized fleurs-de-lys set in between the arches (fig. 187); it is seen on the Khan al-ʿAskar, on both the inside and outside of the arches, and on the Jamiʿ al-Tawbah surrounding the outer façade, on the court, and on the mihrab. A third version can be seen on the inner façade of the Uwaysiyyah and framing the Jamiʿ al-Ṭaḥḥān; it consists of the same sequence of arches, but this time decorated above and plain below. Extensively used in Tripoli in varying degrees of complexity, the motif is also encountered in other parts of the Fertile Crescent: in Aleppo, on the prayer hall and the minaret of the Mosque of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (1213), the entrance to the Mosque of al-Ṭawāshī, and the side entrance to Qayṣariyyat Mīrū

(fig. 188); and in Cairo on both the interior and exterior of the mausoleum of Sabʿ Banāt (fig. 189) and all around the top wall of the Mosque of al-Māridānī (1340), just below the cresting. A motif very much akin to the Tripoli fish scale can be seen at the base of the wooden dome of the Capella Palatina (twelfth century) in Palermo.[21] There, a repeat of two arched units is interrupted by a wide empty area running all around the rectangular base of the roof, which forms an integral part of the muqarnas dome, as opposed to the Tripoli, Syria, and Egypt motif used as a frame. The motif was, then, clearly used in various areas of the Muslim world from an early date, though it reached its greatest popularity in the reconstruction of Tripoli by the Mamluks.

Two frequently encountered decorative elements of stone are the cushion arch, seen on the original door to the Madrasah Shamsiyyah and on the mihrab of the Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah, and the arch with a zigzag or dogtooth motif, seen on the main gate of the Great Mosque, on the façades of the Khan al-Manzil and the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, and as a framing zigzag around the Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah, the Madrasah Nūriyyah, the Mashhad, and the inner façade of Ṭaynāl's mosque.

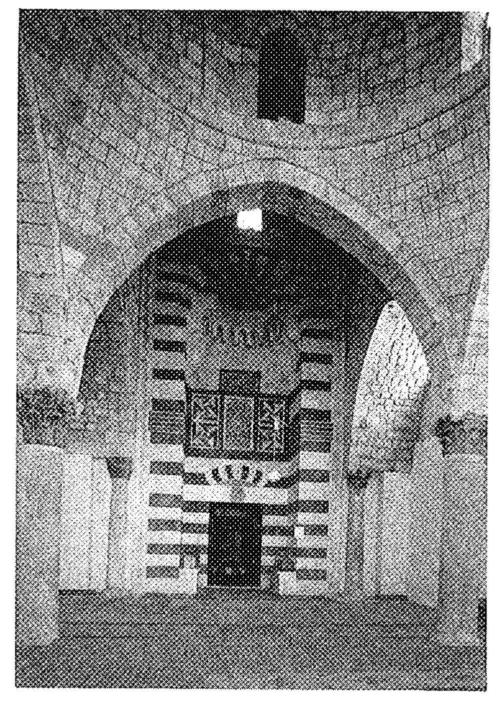


Figure 192 Jamiʿ Ṭaynāl, inner façade.

[21] See pls 21 and 24 in Giulio Arata, *Architettura arabo-normanna e il rinascimento in Sicilia* (Milan, 1925).

The other stone motifs, used only occasionally or in single instances, are the plaited columns on the Khan al-ʿAskar and on the minaret of al-Ṭaḥḥān, the window grills on the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, the fleurs-de-lys on the arch on the exterior of the Khan al-ʿAskar, the spiral on the Madrasah Qādiriyyah, and the rosette on the Khan al-Manzil.

The decorations executed in marble, as is so often the case in Mamluk decoration, repeat a few motifs over and over again in various parts of the building. The limited repertory of repeats includes one motif of tiny stars in polychrome marble mosaic that cover the area; they appear on the mihrabs of the Madrasah Nūriyyah and the Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah and on the floor of the Mosque of al-Burṭāsī. Another motif is formed from an inner circle created by bands forming loops of four small circles; it is used on the façade of the Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah and, in a simplified version, on the floors of the Qarṭāwiyyah and of the vestibule leading to the Mosque of Ṭaynāl's main portal. A third motif is an angular swastika plaque; it occurs four times on the façade of Ṭaynāl's mosque and on the floor of the same monument. A fourth pattern, a development of the third, is the boldest and most powerful of all; it is prominently displayed on the mihrab walls of the Burṭāsiyyah and the Qarṭāwiyyah, and, being among the most popular elements of the Mamluk vocabulary, is encountered on various buildings wherever the Mamluks built. In Damascus it is seen in the tomb chamber of the Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah, the mihrab wall of the Mosque of al-Qaṣṣāb (fig. 190), and the minaret of al-Tawrīzī;[22] in Cairo, on the mihrab wall of the Mosque of al-Māridānī, on the floor of the Hammam Aṣyūt,[23] and at the entrance to the mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsufi:[24] and in Palestine on the northeast wall of what was once the Cathedral of St. Abraham of Hebron.[25] Toward the end of the Mamluk period, the unit is multiplied to form a complex decorative pattern that was applied to both the exteriors and interiors of buildings, as, for instance, on the façade of the Madrasah Ṣābūniyyah and the interior of the Madrasah Jaqmaqiyyah in Damascus (fig. 191).[26]

SOURCES OF ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

Both political and geographic circumstances left the newly erected city of Tripoli open to a variety of influences. Created by the Mamluks

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[22] Abdulkader Rihaoui, *Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus, 1969), p 127; fig. 33; p 131, fig 38

[23] Edmond Pauty, *Les hammams du Caire* (Cairo, 1933), fig. a, pl 12

[24] Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, pl. 84b

[25] Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris, 1925), vol 1, fig 274, pl. 90.

[26] Rihaoui, *Madīnat Dimashq*, p. 124, fig. 31.

of Cairo on the site of an earlier Crusader suburb, near other important Syrian cities, and being a trading post for the whole Mediterranean world, Tripoli reflected all those manifold cultural contacts in its architecture. Damascus and Aleppo undoubtedly had the largest influence. Type, scale, and size all relate the monuments of Tripoli most closely to the Mamluk buildings elsewhere in Syria and in Palestine. As a provincial, but still reasonably important city, Tripoli had no use for ostentatious buildings, and, like its neighbors, developed a functional architecture for both its religious and its civil buildings. Sponsored by local governors and a local bourgeoisie, none exhibit either the scale or the exuberance of comparable Egyptian structures.

Although more modest in size, the plans used are close to their counterparts in other Syrian cities. The Tripoli madrasahs, for instance, like those elsewhere in the area, do not have minarets and do have a proportionately large and well-defined oratory. Whenever the buildings were planned, they come closer to the Syrian two-iwan court with oratory than they do to the cruciform four-iwan Cairene madrasahs.[27] The hammams and khans also closely resemble other Syrian ones,[28] exhibiting the same elements in the same relationships and arrangements.[29] Some buildings are more modest, others are more ambitious, but all the Tripoli monuments show at least some affinity to their Syrian counterparts, and many elements of the architecture and decoration alike are demonstrably of Syrian origin, including the use of ablaq as a decorative means of construction,[30] the use of the Damascus and Aleppo type of squinch as a means of transition from dome above to square below,[31] and the use of marble-lined mihrabs and muqarnas half-domes over gates as decorating architectural elements.[32]

Besides these few examples and the many scattered minor elements that derive from Mamluk Syria, the Syrian pre-Muslim past also occasionally had its impact on Tripoli; the use of classical glass mosaics in the mihrab of the Burṭāsiyyah and a sixth-century Christian spiral motif around the portal of the Qādiriyyah are examples.

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[27] For the Syrian and Egyptian types of madrasah, their characteristics and origins, see Creswell, *MAE*, 2: 104–32.

[28] M. Ecochard and C. Le Cœur, *Les bains de Damas*, 2 vols (Beirut, 1943); cf. Pauty, *Hammams du Caire*.

[29] Jean Sauvaget, "Caravanserais syriens du moyen âge," *Ars Islamica* 6 (1939): 48–55; 7 (1940): 1 ff

[30] See above, nn. 1–3, on the Syrian origin of the ablaq.

[31] Sauvaget, "Architecture musulmane de Syrie," pp. 37–41

[32] Creswell, *MAE*, 2: 146–47, demonstrates with specific and exhaustive examples the move of muqarnas portals from Aleppo in the twelfth century to Hama and Damascus in the thirteenth to Jerusalem in the fourteenth and finally to Cairo where they became popular from the fourteenth century onward.

Cairo, on the other hand, contrary to what one would expect, had only a minor impact on the architecture of Tripoli, and whatever little influence it did have is seen mainly in decoration. Marble, especially marble marquetry, was very popular in Mamluk Egypt, and that practice was carried by craftsmen throughout the Mamluk world. The four patterns of marble paneling discussed earlier, the decorative joggled polychrome lintels and arches, the complex linings of mihrabs, floors, and walls are all automatically repeated motifs from the Cairene repertory. But though it uses that vocabulary, Tripoli uses it with more flair. The decorative elements do not become meaningless additions, but convey a feeling of freshness and purpose. Tripoli was smaller and had fewer buildings on a grand scale than the larger towns. Neither were they extensively decorated, and the motifs did not have a chance to recur so often. Instead of simply continuing into the fifteenth century the use of motifs developed and popularized in the fourteenth century to the point of boredom, as in Cairo, in Tripoli they achieve their own modest fifteenth-century character. Although borrowed, they always manage to appear well chosen and appropriate to the building to which they are applied, while in Cairo, decoration seems often simply to cover an area with motifs chosen at random.

Although decorative motifs like the zigzag half-dome over the gate of the Ṭuwayshiyyah and the fish-scale motif are common to both areas, the Tripoli versions are always more akin to the Syrian than to the Egyptian variety. The same can be said for the floor plans of the buildings, whether for mosques, madrasahs, or hammams: the Tripoli monuments follow the Syrian type more often than they do the Egyptian developments. The one exception, which by its scope, magnitude, and excellence of execution is more typical of Cairo than of Damascus or Aleppo, is the inner portal of Ṭaynāl's mosque (fig. 192). Since it was built under the patronage of a governor of Tripoli, there may have been artists from Cairo working on it.

Second only to the influence of the Mamluks is the mark the Crusaders' presence left on certain architectural elements. In addition to the reused columns and capitals and rare instances of Christian iconography such as the lamb and the shells on the Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn and the baptismal font on the minbar of al-ʿAṭṭār, the Crusaders' impact is seen in the cushion arch and the dogtooth arch, two motifs used extensively on their architecture in the Holy Land.[33] They are found on many monuments in Palestine and Syria as well, as for instance in the

[33] In the cases of the Great Mosque, Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah, and Madrasah Shamsiyyah; many other examples can also be seen in Paul Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane* (Paris, 1964), figs 49, 100.

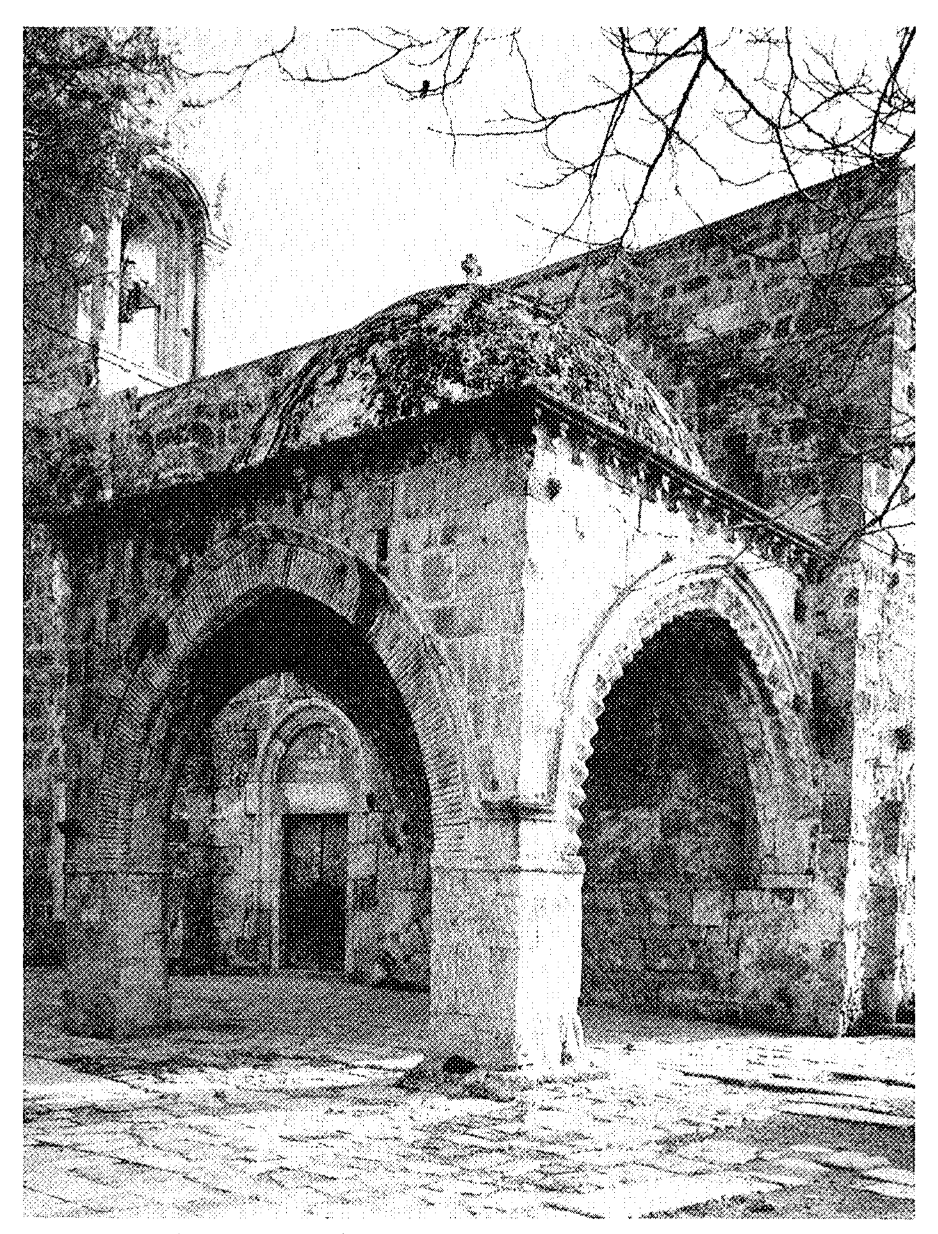


Figure 193. Byblos, Baptistry of Saint John.

Baptistry of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Jubayl (Byblos),[34] where they are used side by side (fig. 193).

The Norman origin of the dogtooth motif is undoubted, but the cushion arch is somewhat more of a problem. It is encountered on what are considered typical Norman monuments such as the churches of the Holy Sepulchre and St. Anne in Jerusalem and the Church of St. John in Beirut,[35] on the monuments of Baybars in Cairo, on the minarets of Ramlah in Palestine, of Sultan Qalā'ūn in Cairo, and of Ṭaynāl in Tripoli; on Crusader castles remodeled by the Arabs, such as the sea castle of Saida and the castle of Ṣaffūriyyah,[36] the Mosque of Ṭayrūzī and the Madrasah ʿAdiliyyah al-Ṣughrah in Damascus, and numerous other monuments in Syria, Egypt, and Palestine. It is also seen in France at Jazennes, at Marignac, and at Soissons,[37] which has led scholars to conclude that the motif is of Western origin, came to the Holy Land with the Crusaders, and remained in the local repertory. But this theory was destroyed by Creswell when he meticulously listed and studied the motif chronologically. He discovered that it was in fact of Syrian origin, having first appeared on the Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo built by architects from Edessa in 1089. Wherever he encountered it, it was at times and in places where Syrian influence could otherwise be proved.[38] Deschamps accepts this view,[39] and the motif can clearly now be considered of Syrian origin, adopted and utilized by the Crusaders and brought West by Christians returning home. Of the two decorative arched motifs normally associated with Crusader architecture, then, the dogtooth traveled from West to East, from Europe to the Holy Land, while the cushion arch traveled from East to West, with the Crusaders as transmitters.

The Muslim West also had its influence on Tripoli. North African and western Islamic influences played a role in both Damascus[40] and

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[34] See "Djebeil" in C J.M de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), pp. 274–75, and pl. 28.

[35] Ibid , pp. 396–98

[36] C R Conder and H.H. Kitchner, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, and Archaeology*, 3 vols (London, 1881–83), 1: 335–37; illustration, p 334, and detail p. 337

[37] Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane*, p. 290.

[38] Creswell, *MAE*, 1: 212–13.

[39] Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane*, p. 295.

[40] Both Creswell, *MAE*, 2: 229, and Jean Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), p 105, talk about unquestionable Andalusian influences in Damascus introduced by some "displaced person," as, for example, in the case of the stucco ornament in the mausoleum of Takriti (1299).

Cairo;[41] in elements of construction and decoration, similarities of motifs between Tripoli and the Muslim West and Sicily are numerous. The ribbed or fluted domes of Tripoli, in the mosques of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and Ṭaynāl and the madrasahs Ṭuwayshiyyah, Saqraqiyyah, and Khātūniyyah, are of North African origin;[42] the four domes of the Great Mosque of Qaīrawān in Tunisia and the dome over its minaret are all fluted,[43] as is that on the provincial Mosque of Sidī Makhlūf at Kef,[44] and the vestibule of Bāb al-Hawā at Rabat.[45] The use of a dome over the mihrab in the Great Mosque, the mosques of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, al-Tawbah, and Ṭaynāl and in the madrasahs Qarṭāwiyyah and Burṭāsiyyah is a North African feature that came to Cairo with the Fatimids.[46] But since placing the dome over the mihrab area was an accepted practice by the fourteenth century, whether it reached Tripoli via Cairo or Damascus or directly from North Africa is impossible to determine.

The Mosque of al-Burṭāsī exhibits two elements of Western origin—the two arches on a column of the minaret and the three lights within an arch on the transition area of the main dome. Other similarities to Western practice (Sicily in particular) are numerous: the concave rosettes in the center of vaulting, the fish-scale motif, and the polylobed windows, as on the façade of the Ṭuwayshiyyah and the Uwaysiyyah, are some of them.

Finally, the common practice in the early days of whitewashing also lent a characteristically North African flavor. Many sources mention that the new city of Tripoli was painted white,[47] a sight uncommon in the Fertile Crescent, but ubiquitous in North Africa in city and countryside alike.[48] For the travelers to have mentioned it suggests that it was unusual for that part of the world, since their descriptions are for the most part brief and confined to peculiar features such as the profusion of gardens or the fact that water could run all the way to the top floors.

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[41] Both Georges Marçais, "Les échanges artistiques entre l'Égypte et les pays musulmans occidentaux," *Hesperis* 19 (1934): 95–106, and Farid Shafiʿi, "West Islamic Influences on Architecture in Egypt," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Cairo University*, 16 (1954), confirm the North African and Andalusian influences in Egypt starting with Fatimids and continuing sporadically into the Mamluk period

[42] Creswell, *MAE*, 1: 290, includes fluted domes among the North African influences on Fatimid Cairo

[43] Georges Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'occident*, pp 13–17 (illustrations)

[44] Fernand Benoît, *Afrique méditerranéenne* (Paris, 1931), fig. 361, pl. 141

[45] Ibid., fig 212, pl 81.

[46] Creswell, *MAE*, 1: 290

[47] Abū al-Walīd Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Tārīkh Mamlakat Halab* (Beirut, 1909), pp 263–64; and Aḥmah ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Subh al-Aʿshā fi Ṣināʿat al-Inshā*, vol. 4 of 14 vols., trans. M Gaudefroy Demombynes, "Syrie," in *Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, p 111.

[48] See illustrations in Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, pls. 46, 59, 60

Craftsmen often moved about as a result of wars, bringing techniques and motifs from city to city. Some twenty instances of founding inscriptions on medieval buildings in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries provide evidence of "l'humeur vagabonde des artistes musulmans."[49] In Tripoli an artist from Sahyūn worked on the Great Mosque and an architect from Baʿalbek worked on the Mosque of al-ʿAṭṭār.

While developing certain characteristic features of its own, Tripoli at the same time drew on the whole Mamluk and Mediterranean world for its architectural and decorative elements, thanks to its political ties, geographic location, and the apparently peripatetic habits of medieval architects, artisans, merchants, and pilgrims alike.

[49] Ibid., pp 163–64; Max van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 37) (Cairo, 1914), p. 221.



APPENDIX A

Chronology of Monuments

A D	Mosques	Madrasahs	Hammams	Khans & Suqs	Other
1294	Great Mosque				
1294-98		[Zurayqiyyah]	ʿIzz al-Dīn		Mausoleum of ʿIzz al-Dīn
1301			al-Ḥājib		
1305	ʿAbd al-Wāḥid				
1309				al-Manzil	
After 1309		Khayriyyah Ḥasan			
1316-1326		Qarṭāwiyyah			
Before 1324	al-Burṭāsī				
1333		Nūriyyah?	al-Nūrī?		
1336	Ṭaynāl				
1341				al-Khayyāṭīn	
Before 1356				al-Miṣriyyīn	
1349		Shamsiyyah?			
1350	al-ʿAṭṭār				
1354-60		Nāṣiriyyah			
1359		Saqraqiyyah			
1365		ʿAjamiyyah			
1373		Khātūniyyah			
1394-98	Arghūn Shāh				
1396		Ẓāhiriyyah			
1413					Fountain of al-Ṭīnah
1460	Uwaysī				
Before 1465		[Rifāʿiyyah]			
1466		[ʿUmariyyah]			
About 1467					Khanqah
1471		Ṭuwayshiyyah			
Undated Monuments	[al-Ṭaḥḥān] [al-Tawbah]	Qādiriyyah Anonymous Mashhad		Suq al-Ḥarāj Khan al-ʿAskar	Mawlawiyyah

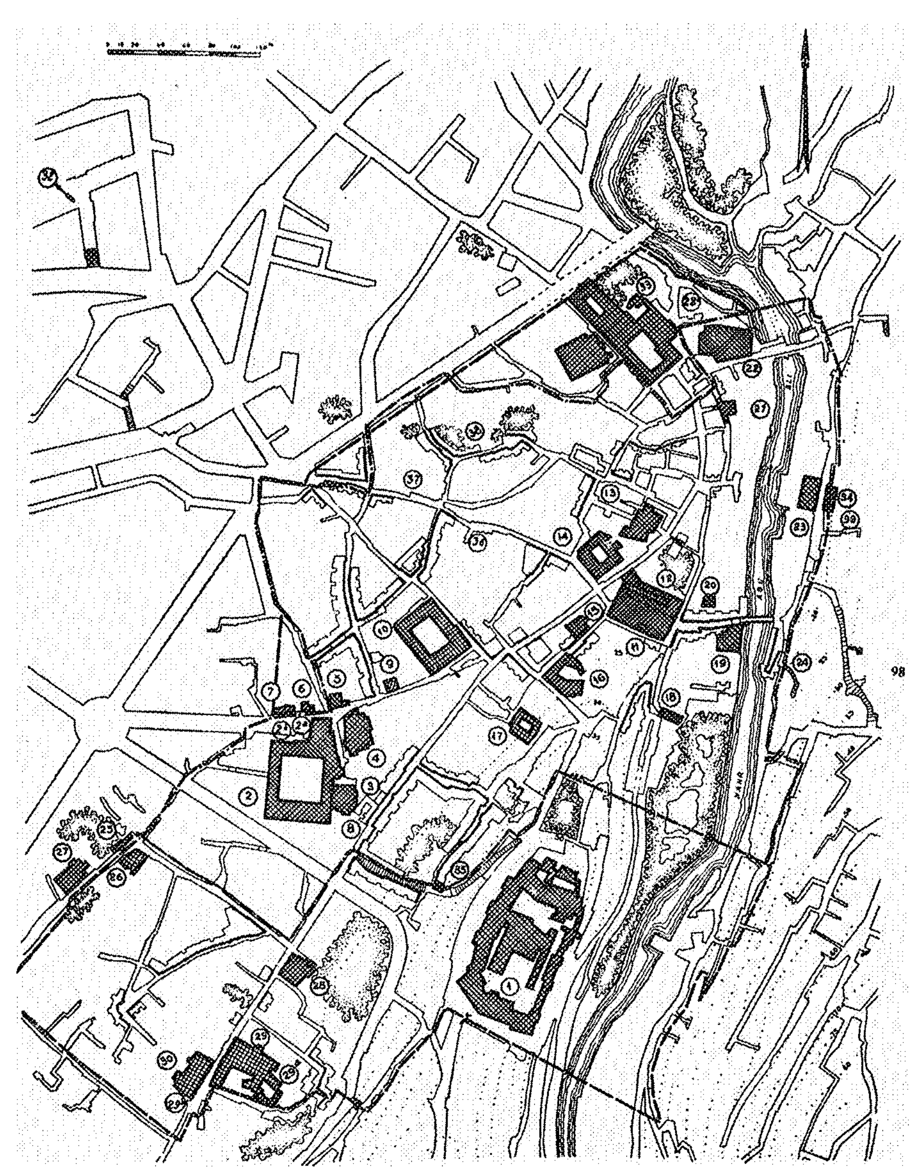
Appendix B

Plan of City and Key to Monuments

No on Plan	
1	Castle
2	Great Mosque
2a.	Madrasah Shamsiyyah
2b	Anonymous Mashhad
3.	Madrasah Qarṭāwiyyah
4.	Hammam al-Nūrī
5.	Madrasah Nūriyyah
6.	Madrasah Nāṣiriyyah
7.	Madrasah Khayriyyah Ḥasan
8.	Arch on vaulted alley
9	Madrasah Ṭuwayshiyyah
10.	Khan al-Ṣābūn
11	Hammam ʿIzz al-Dīn
12.	Khan al-Khayyāṭīn
13	Mosque of al-ʿAṭṭār
14	Khan al-Miṣriyyīn
15.	Madrasah Qādiriyyah
16.	Mosque of al-Uwaysī
17	Mosque of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid
18.	Madrasah Ẓāhiriyyah
19	Madrasah Burṭāsiyyah
20.	Bakia Ghanem

No. on Plan	
21.	Suq al-Harāj
22	Mosque of al-Tawbah
22a	Mosque of al-Dabbāghīn
23.	Khan al-Manzil
24.	Byzantine arch
25.	Madrasah Saqraqiyyah
26	Madrasah Khātūniyyah
27.	Mosque of Arghūn Shāh
28	Mosque of al-Ṭaḥḥān
29.	Mosque al-Muʿallaq
29a	Khanqah
29b	Fountain of al-Tīnah
30.	Hammam al-Jadīd
31.	Mosque of Ṭaynāl
32	Burj al-Sibāʿ
33	Khan al-ʿAskar
34.	Madrasah Zurayqiyyah
35.	Madrasah ʿAjamiyyah
36	Madrasah Rifāʿiyyah
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Sobernheim, Moritz. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Syrie du Nord.* Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 25. Cairo, 1909. In the series, directed by Max van Berchem, that was organized to study and publish Muslim inscriptions, Sobernheim undertook to record, analyze, and publish those of Mamluk Tripoli. His work is scholarly and systematic, but he does not even mention, let alone describe, the monuments themselves. Nonetheless the study is extremely useful. In each case Sobernheim records and translates the inscription, analyzes its contents, and, insofar as possible relying on primary material, provides biographies of the benefactors. His work has laid the basis for all subsequent studies of Mamluk Tripoli.

Collart, Paul; Chehab, Emir Maurice; and Delon, Armando. *La ville de Tripoli et son développement historique* Unesco: Paris, 1954. Report of Unesco mission to Lebanon in 1953 to assess the city and make recommendations for its preservation and development. The report makes only general remarks about the architecture, but provides a list of the buildings with dates of foundations and names of founders The undertaking encouraged the Lebanese authorities to make a thorough survey of the monuments, classify and number the buildings, and prepare drawings of the plans, sections and elevations of most monuments (the latter are not included in the report, but are available in the Department of Antiquities in Beirut).

Condé, Bruce. *Tripoli of Lebanon.* Beirut, 1961. A small guidebook based on a series of articles which appeared in a daily paper. The author presented the monuments as tourist attractions, and without references or notes. It is by no means scholarly, but is the only handbook available to the visitor

Salem, al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz. *Ṭarāblus al-Shām fi al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī.* Dār al-Maʿārif: Alexandria, 1967. Using primary sources, in Arabic as well as in Western languages, Salem has compiled a thorough and systematic history of the city of Tripoli from the first Muslim conquest to the Ottoman takeover. The sequence of events, with biographies of rulers and amirs, is accompanied by social, economic, and cultural assessments. Relying heavily on Sobernheim and Condé, Salem has included a chapter on Tripoli's monuments but does not analyze them as works of architecture.

Al-Zayn, Samīḥ Wajīh. *Tārīkh Ṭarāblus Qadīman wa Ḥadīthan*. Dār al-Andalus: Beirut, 1969. In six hundred pages al-Zayn covers the history of Tripoli from its Phoenician foundation to modern times; although detailed, it is not footnoted, which limits its use as a scholarly work. The section on buildings is brief.

Ṭadmurī, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām. *Tārīkh wa Athār Masājid wa Madāris Ṭarāblus fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk*. Dār al-Bilād: Tripoli, 1974. A scholarly work dealing with the religious buildings in Tripoli dating from Mamluk times; the mosques and madrasahs are treated chronologically one by one. Tadmurī provides the historical background behind the construction of the building including, whenever possible, a biography of the founder, describes the monument briefly, and gives the names and biographies of the sheiks and scholars whose names have been associated with monuments from Mamluk times to the present. Tadmurī's descriptions are more complete than others, but his main concern is historical and biographical.



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